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ABSTRACT

This study is one part of a larger effort to examine the rapidly increasing phenomenon of regionalism in public education. It provides several perspectives on the educational problems of cities, offers some suggestions for improvement that are being tried in two metropolitan regions, and describes some of the talents, resources, organizational patterns, facilities, and commitments being employed. The case study technique was used to examine and analyze two medium-sized areas (Hartford, Connecticut, and Nashville-Davidson County, Tennessee) to learn from these metropolitan regions about providing high quality education equitably and economically. After analyzing data gathered from over 50 indepth interviews with community and educational leaders, 200 questionnaires, local newspaper stories, and all available reports and documents, researchers concluded that (1) although Nashville and Hartford are using different means, they are both making meaningful progress toward an equitable, efficient, and economical metropolitan effort in education; and (2) for many communities the voluntary or Hartford model provides the best promise. An extensive bibliography sectioned according to general, Nashville, and Hartford references is included. (Author/EA)

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FINAL REPORT

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STRATEGIES FOR METROPOLITAN COOPERATION IN EDUCATION

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SUMMARY

Two urban regions have been examined in some detail in an effort to determine what they can teach us about providing high quality educational opportunities, equitably and efficiently on a metropolitan basis. The Nashville-Davidson County area of Tennessee and the Greater Hartford region of Connecticut were selected for study, because they appeared to be leaders in terms of the degree to which they are engaged in general metropolitan planning.

The specific questions raised in this project were: How much cooperation and coordination of both a formal and an informal sort exist in educational matters? Who cooperates with whom? Why? How did these relations develop? Are they working? Is there a central coordination agency? How are educational decisions related to other public and private service functions in the region? Is there greater economic efficiency and equity as a result of the cooperation?

A case study approach has been used. Over 50 depth interviews with community and educational leaders were conducted; approximately 200 questionnaires were administered to other sources; local newspaper stories were examined; and all available reports and documents were analyzed.

Two quite different models were identified. Nashville-Davidson County, Tennessee, is a prime example of a city-county consolidation form of metropolitanism. For all practical purposes, this urban County now has one government and one school district; and, further, the schools and the government are legally associated. Davidson County also is involved in a modest number of voluntary cooperative agreements with other jurisdictions in the broader metropolitan region. Greater Hartford, on the other hand, has a wide variety of primarily voluntary associations operating in nearly every service area.

Although the means have been different, Nashville and Hartford are making considerable progress toward an equitable, efficient and economical metropolitan effort in education. Persons interested in these ends can learn much from their experiences. This is not to say, of course, that these regions have solved their educational problems--far from it.

INTRODUCTION

In ever increasing numbers and percentages Americans live and work in sprawling metropolitan areas that spread across a multiplicity of political units—special districts of many sorts, school systems, villages, towns, unincorporated places, cities, counties, and states. Obviously, there are numerous political, social and economic problems associated with life in these densely populated urban spaces. It is also true, of course, that there are manifest assets of metropolitan living, but, somehow, most of us don't seem to be quite as well aware of the advantages. In any case, among the most serious of the problems is the failure of this society to provide high quality educational opportunities to all on an equitable and efficient basis.

This study will provide several perspectives on the "education problem" of our cities. It will offer some suggestions for improvement that are being tried in two metropolitan regions. It will describe some of the talents, resources, organizational patterns, facilities and commitments that are being employed.

The case study technique will be used. Two medium-sized metropolitan areas—Hartford, Connecticut, and Nashville-Davidson, County, Tennessee—will be examined and analyzed in detail. The question then, is, what can we learn from these relatively sophisticated metropolitan regions about providing high quality education equitably and economically?

This study is a part of a larger effort by this group of researchers to examine the rapidly increasing phenomenon of regionalism in public education. Specific studies of intermediate school districts, supplementary educational centers, the interface between Roman Catholic schools and public schools, and the roles of a major university and of a community college in serving an educational region are at various stages of completion. They are supported by a variety of sources. When these and other projects are completed, including this metropolitan study, the researchers intend to produce a model or models of educational regions.

The underlying assumption of these studies is that educational opportunities for all citizens can be improved and strengthened if the resources and talent of a defensible, cohesive region can be cooperatively harnessed. That is, in education as well as in other essential service areas, efficiency, economy, equity and equality are associated with regional, in this case, metropolitan, planning and operations.

Despite numerous attempts to regionalize education, some of which will be identified in this report, this team of researchers believes that more needs to be known about what constitutes a workable educational region. How large should it be? What resources are necessary? How should it be organized, e.g., a confederation or a single unit? How should educational organizations relate to other agencies? How can local initiative and involvement be maintained within an effectual regional organization? Specifically, what educational services should be offered on a regional basis? What are the appropriate roles of local state and national educational authorities?

The metropolitan study, as a part of the larger effort, intends to provide some partial answers to these questions.

Specific Objectives

The researchers have sought answers to the following questions concerning each of the metropolitan regions:

1. To what extent do the major educative agencies, other than the family, formally cooperate (contractual agreements) with one another? The public school district(s), private schools, colleges and universities, the supplementary Title III Center(s) supported by the national government under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA), vocational and technical schools, museums, libraries, adult and continuing education centers, and the educational media are included.

How and why did these formal arrangements occur? Who was involved? What legal action was necessary? What are the problems and strengths of these relations? What assessments have been undertaken and what are the results? How do key people view these interactions?

2. To what extent do these educational institutions cooperate with other agencies, i.e., local governments; groups representing business and industry; labor unions; planning agencies; informal youth groups; community organizations, particularly, those representing minority racial and ethnic groups; and professional associations? What are the strategies used to obtain this cooperation? How do educators and other community leaders assess these relations?

3. To what extent do the educative agencies cooperate on an informal basis? Why? How? What procedures are employed? Are these relations productive? What changes, if any, are being considered?

4. Is there an agency responsible for coordinating educational efforts in the metropolitan region? If so, how did it develop? Is such an agency needed? If such an agency exists, then what are its specific goals and functions? Does it have the requisite power and support? What are the significant supportive and blocking forces? How do community and educational leaders perceive this agency? What staff does this coordinating body have? What are the funding arrangements? How are decisions reached?

5. To what extent are educational decisions made on the basis of sound coordinated planning? Who does the planning? What variables are considered?

6. In an economic sense, to what extent are the public schools within the metropolitan region equal? What is the instructional expenditure per child? How does this expenditure relate to the economic wealth of the district and the region? If economic disparity exists, what is being done to overcome this situation? What is the reaction of

those involved concerning this procedure?

Rationale

Two irrefutable, intertwined and highly important developments of contemporary America undergird this study. The first is the metropolitanization of our population, i.e., the concentration of the citizens of the United States in urban complexes. The second is the phenomenon of regionalization of education previously noted. Each of these forces will be discussed briefly in this introduction.

Metropolitanization...The historian, Blake McKelvey, characterizes the recent growth of America by the expression, "the metropolitan age."[1] Two well known and respected demographers serving the National Commission on Urban Problems[2] have said:[3]

> The United States is undoubtedly the world's most dramatic example of four developments which have profoundly affected man and society. These developments are: the population explosion, the population implosion, population diversification and the accelerated tempo of technological and social change. Each of these developments is embodied in the metropolitan agglomerations of population which characterize American society.

By population implosion the writers are referring to the clustering of people on relatively small proportions of the land surface. This density is already an accomplished fact, for roughly two thirds of the population of the country lived in 212 areas recognized as metropolitan in 1960.[4] Furthermore, approximately 84 percent of the total population growth during the 1950's occurred in these regions.[5] By 1968 the number of Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA's) had increased from 212 to 233.[6] This trend with an increasing tempo is projected for the future. Using one of the more conservative projection techniques of the Bureau of the Census that is based on a continuation of present relatively low levels of fertility, Hodge and Houser[7] claim the following:

> From 1960 to 1985 the percentage of the population residing in SMSA's will increase from 63 to 71 percent—better than 80 percent in the northeastern and western states.
>
> Ninety percent of the growth of the population in this twenty-five year period will be in the SMSA's.
>
> The suburban rings will absorb 79 percent of this growth while growth in the central cities would account for 10 percent of the increase.
>
> The trend, since 1940, for the nonwhite population to increase more rapidly than the white will continue, and the nonwhites will become even more heavily concentrated in the central cities of the SMSA's.
>
> Two thirds of the nonwhites of the south will reside in SMSA's by 1985 and better than 90 percent of nonwhites living in the rest of the United States will be a part of urban areas.
>
> Two age segments of the population will expand especially rapidly during the period 1960-1985. They are the young workers,

persons in the 15-44 age group, and the over 65's. This suggests the problems in the metropolis of absorbing an expanding work force when automation is increasing and of coping with the problems of the aged.

Table 1 summarizes much of these data:

Table 1

Summary—Resident Population of the United States; 1960 and Projected 1985
(Numbers in thousands)[8]

	Population		Change 1960-1985		Percent of Total	Percent Distribution By Color	
	1960	1985	Amount	Per-cent	Change	1960	1985
	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)	(F)	(G)
United States.....	179,323	252,185	72,862	40.6	100.0	100.0	100.0
White...........	158,832	217,714	58,882	37.0	80.8	88.6	86.3
Nonwhite........	20,491	34,471	13,980	68.2	19.2	11.4	13.7
Metropolitan*.....	112,884	178,138	65,254	57.8	89.6	100.0	100.0
White...........	99,692	151,164	51,472	51.6	70.6	88.3	84.9
Nonwhite........	13,192	26,974	13,782	104.5	18.9	11.7	15.1
Central City......	58,208	65,581	7,373	12.7	10.0	100.0	100.0
White...........	47,852	45,435	-2,417	-5.1	-3.3	82.2	69.3
Nonwhite........	10,356	20,146	9,790	94.5	13.4	17.8	30.7
SMSA Ring.........	54,676	112,557	57,881	105.9	79.4	100.0	100.0
White...........	51,840	105,730	53,890	104.0	74.0	94.8	93.9
Nonwhite........	2,836	6,827	3,991	140.7	5.5	5.2	6.1
Nonmetropolitan*..	66,439	74,047	7,608	11.5	10.4	100.0	100.0
White...........	59,140	66,550	7,410	12.5	10.2	89.0	89.9
Nonwhite........	7,299	7,497	198	2.7	0.3	11.0	10.1

*1960 boundaries of SMSA's used for 1960; 1967 boundaries of SMSA's used for 1985.

What will happen beyond 1985 to the year 2000? No one really knows, of course, but the popular magazines are full of gloom and doom. Here is SATURDAY REVIEW's prediction.[9]

> Within thirty years from now demographers say, more than half the population of the United States will be packed onto less than one-twelfth of all the available land in the country. According to these predictions, about 200 million persons will occupy four great corridors of space: one stretching along the Atlantic seacoast from Maine to Virginia, another spanning the

> length of Florida, a third skirting the southern shores of the Great Lakes from Buffalo and Erie to Chicago, and a fourth bordering the Pacific Ocean from the top to the bottom of California.
>
> The prospect is infinitely dreary. The nuclei of these so-called megalopolises are already bowed down with poverty, disease, hunger, crime, and filth. Stuffing more people into them can only deepen the misery.

Here, then, is a rapidly growing population (better than 40 percent in twenty-five years) concentrated in sprawling urban places, and most of the growth is occurring in segments of the population that suggests increasing social and economic problems—not a pretty picture, unless...

Obviously, increasing metropolitanization is not a completely negative phenomenon. All of the arguments used by urbanologists to defend city living might be cited, e.g., the excitement, the aesthetic opportunities, the availability of health care and other social and personal services, the economic specialization of markets, job opportunities and services, the richness of the heterogeneity of the people, the privacy, or, on the other hand, the sense of community that may exist. Furthermore, as one widely published political scientist has said, the phrase, "urban or metropolitan problem" is basically misleading.[10]

> It is only a slight exaggeration to say that the major urban problem is the various and uncertain meanings attached to the phrase, 'urban problem' . . . The difficulty, of course, is that we have fallen into the habit of using the phrase, 'urban problems', to refer to a variety of often unrelated concerns, some of which are not, strictly speaking, urban at all and others of which are not even problems in any meaningful sense.

Poverty, crime, ugliness, pollution, discrimination, etc., are unpleasant facts of our times, but they occur, in non-urban places. Indeed, a higher percentage of rural citizens are below the poverty line than are urban; and public health, education, recreation and housing in our cities, while still inadequate, are clearly better than they formerly were. This reasoning suggests that if greater understanding were obtained, if more cooperation and coordination were achieved, then the potential advantages of the city could be more generally realized.

But, there are problems! The term, 'urban crisis,' is commonplace. Literature on the pathology of the city and its environs abounds. An almost endless supply of titles such as DARK GHETTO, THE UNHEAVENLY CITY, CITIES IN A RACE WITH TIME, CRISIS IN BLACK AND WHITE and SICK CITIES are being published. Mitchell Gordon's Table of Contents in SICK CITIES is a concise listing that suggests most of the problems associated with metropolitanism.[11]

Traffic Jam: The Concrete Spread
Beware of the Air

Water: Filthier and Farther
No Place for Fun
Help, Police
Fire
School Bells—and Burdens
Libraries and a Couple of Nuisances: Noise and Birds
The City Dump
The Public Purse
Too Many Governments
City Limits
Urban Blight and Civic Foresight

Throughout the Gordon volume and the myriad other monographs, articles and speeches on the subject are discussions of the more basic factors: ideological conflict, racism, inequitable distribution of wealth, a lack of sound planning and a lack of the sensitivity and the know-how to solve the problems.

As a part of the effort to resolve these problems many, many attempts to coordinate or synthesize the governmental and private services have been undertaken. The nature and extent of these attempts to achieve the needed coordination have, obviously, varied from community to community. The efforts might be placed on a continuum. On one end would be hypothetical situations in which all local metropolitan governmental units have been joined into a single broad legal jurisdiction completely coextensive with the metropolitan regions. On the other end would be entirely voluntary associations of two or more governmental units joined together for the purpose of discussing common problems. In the latter cases the political structure remains totally unchanged.

Table 2 diagrams this continuum and offers some examples.

Table 2

A Continuum of Forms of Metropolitan Governmental Cooperation

Metropolitan Government Single public jurisdiction serving the entire region No examples exist	**Metropolitan Federation** Local governments transfer specific functions to new unit, governed by representatives of sub-units. Other functions of local government remain unchanged. Attempts in U.S. to win voter approval have failed. Toronto and Winnipeg in Canada.
Multi-purpose Special District Independent unit created with the avowed purpose of gradually adding functions, (whether or not functions actually added). Seattle, Washington	**City-county consolidation** Merged single government serves the core county, not the entire region Nashville-Davidson, Tenn., Indianapolis, Indiana
Single-purpose Special District Independent unit to provide one or two specified services. Rochester, New York's Transit Authority or Parks Commission.	**Urban County** County sells services to local governments usually within one county. Dade County, Florida; Westchester and Nassau Counties in New York.
Voluntary Metropolitan Council Focus on discussion, study, consultation, public relations, lobbying, and so on. All metros have some such arrangements.	**Intergovernmental Agreements** Two or more local governments agree to provide a service jointly. Nearly every metro area has examples.

According to Joan Aron's illuminating study of New York's Metropolitan Regional Council, while the majority of urban political theorists persistently tend to favor the complete restructuring approach, "a large and growing group of urban observers has become increasingly critical of the prescriptions that call for creation of an area-wide government."[12] She points out that most attempts to gain voter support for metropolitan-wide governments have failed, and she warns that political realism suggests that more modest, voluntary efforts seem more likely.

However, there are a few examples as Table 2 indicates, that are fairly close to the completely restructured model. Most of these do not include the total metropolitan areas.

There are far more numerous instances in which a single purpose agency has been created for regional control of a given service, e.g., a metropolitan transportation authority, or a regional library association. Also, voluntary regional councils are developing so rapidly that it is almost impossible to keep a record of them. They vary widely in terms of power and effectiveness. Recent national legislation has stimulated the creation of these agencies, indeed, some federal programs demand the existence of regional organizations in order to obtain certain forms of financial assistance. Regional councils have also been encouraged by actions of the National League of Cities and the National Association of Counties.[13]

Metropolitan planning in its many forms, then, is a major factor of the current scene.

Regionalization of Education...The movement to regionalize education and, particularly, public education, is the second vital force undergirding this research effort. Although regional educational development is probably not as well known as metropolitanism, the movement has been widely discussed in the literature and has been occurring at a dramatic rate. Leaders in education—lay and professional and, particularly, state department of education personnel—have long argued that small autonomous school districts are inefficient, ineffective, and unequal.

The most common effort to resolve this problem has been to eliminate small school districts through mergers and consolidations. Much progress in this direction has been made, for in 1931-32 there were over 127,000 operating school districts in the U.S., while in the fall of 1968 there were less than 20,000.[14] To be sure, some states have been far more successful than others, e.g., although Kansas and neighboring Nebraska are approximately the same size both in terms of area and population, Kansas, the larger state, had over 300 operating districts and, Nebraska had over 1,500 in 1968.[15] It is axiomatic that the degree of success in reducing the number of districts is directly related to the amount of pressure exerted by state authorities. Particularly effective, has been the practice of relating state financial aid to the "suggested" mergers. Few districts can resist this form of "subtle coercion."

In addition to the process of reducing the number of local units in public education, there have been numerous attempts to coordinate school districts on a voluntary basis. The goal was to provide certain educational services more efficiently. Some of these efforts have included non-public school educative agencies; most have not. Public and private institutions have been combined in those efforts that have been sponsored by the provisions of ESEA, 1965, and its amendments.

Numerous states have developed what might be generally called, intermediate districts or regional educational service agencies. They are arms of the state department of education.[16] For example, four states of the Great Plains have cooperatively proposed Area Educational Service Agencies. These units are to provide "both programs and services which administrative districts cannot provide at an acceptable level of quality, with efficiency and economy."[17] The California State Board of Education has established 21 Regional Planning and Evaluation Agencies (RPEA).[18] New York State passed enabling legislation to create intermediate districts in 1948 and in many instances, strong Boards of Cooperative Educational Services (BOCES) have developed.[19]

Likewise, the national government has encouraged regionalization of education. Title III of ESEA (1965) was the motivating force in establishing Supplementary Education Centers throughout the country. These centers were to encourage Projects to Advance Creativity in Education (PACE) on a regional basis. Title IV of the same act stimulated the development of regional laboratories for research and development.

Also, there have been countless local efforts by educational agencies to cooperate both formally and informally—the formation of regional library districts, of educational television associations, of cooperative curriculum development activities, of research consortia, of regional vocational-technical schools, of area interuniversity research projects, of instructional materials centers, of data processing units, are but some of the examples of such efforts.

The major goals for regional developments in education include all or part of the following:

To provide special curricula for atypical needs, e.g., special education for the handicapped, sophisticated occupational programs, and advanced offerings for the gifted. It seems fair to say that this has been by far the most influential reason for the development of these centers.

To provide a greater racial and class mix which is, in turn, demonstratably associated with improving the quality of opportunities for the educationally disadvantaged.

To provide for greater equity in the collection and distribution of funds for education.

To deal more effectively and efficiently with personnel matters, i.e., recruiting, negotiating, utilizing special skills and competencies, and providing inservice programs.

To obtain more and better educational research and development activities and to disseminate the findings from these efforts more effectively.

To achieve better and more efficient administrative and business services, e.g., data processing and retrieval procedures, central accounting, common purchasing, improved transportation services and so on.

To reduce overlap and redundancy of services.

To obtain and distribute instructional materials, equipment, and facilities on a more equitable basis.

All of this is to say that regionalism in education, both of a voluntary cooperative sort and of a mandated variety, has been occurring, despite the fact that there are many significant unresolved issues associated with the process.

The movements towards general metropolitanism and regionalism in education may become a unified force when the habitat involved is an urban center. The combination of the two forces provides the context of this study.

Methods

The first task in this project was to select the two metropolitan areas. The research plan specified that a panel of knowledgeable city and regional planners would identify the two medium-sized metropolitan areas in the northeastern section of the United States that had achieved the greatest degree of significant general regional planning. The geographic limitation was imposed in the interests of economy, both time and money. It was believed that little would be gained by setting broader geographic boundaries since the researchers were primarily interested in the processes that were being used to relate educational efforts to general regional planning. The intent behind the limitation of only medium-sized (400,000 to 1,000,000 people) SMSA's was to eliminate from consideration both the largest districts, for they seemed too complex given the time and resources available, and the smallest ones, since they appeared to be too greatly influenced by uniquely localized political and economic factors. Although this decision was largely arbitrary, it is consistent with much cf the research on metropolitanism.[20]

Selecting two districts instead of one or more was based on the belief that although some comparisons might be useful, a depth case study approach was required.

Several problems were encountered with this scheme for identifying the SMSA's. First, it was difficult to find professional planners who were willing to identify the two metropolitan districts that they thought were ahead of the others in terms of general regional planning. Six men were contacted and all but one refused. They claimed that there was simply no accurate basis for making this sort of judgment. They spoke of the limited amount of meaningful general planning that was underway, and warned of the great amount of uncritical and overblown descriptions that exist. The consultants were willing to identify regions that had some degree of general planning, but they were, generally, unwilling to rank them.

The second problem became apparent from discussions with the six proposed consultants. These experts did not approve of the geographic limits that had been set. They argued that it was a mistake to rule out the southeastern portion of the United States. They took this position because the strong county government framework in many southern states has led to county school districts and, in some instances, these districts are closely connected with other local governmental bodies. The consultants believed that at least one such district ought to be examined.

Problems involved in selecting cases were resolved as follows:

1. The geographic limitations were expanded to include the states in the southeastern section of the United States.
2. A review of the four periodicals[21] recommended by our consultants was conducted. All references indicating that public education was involved in general regional planning in the SMSA's of the eastern portion of the United States were noted.
3. The detailed response of the one consultant who accepted our assignment was considered.
4. Informal discussions were held with staff members of two planning agencies[22] in the Rochester, New York area.
5. Data from these three (items 2, 3, and 4) sources were analyzed. The frequency of notations pointed to the selection of Nashville-Davidson County, Tennessee, and Hartford, Connecticut.

Although this procedure was obviously a departure from the original research plan, the investigators are satisfied that no serious limitations will result. This project is interested in uncovering the strategies employed in regional cooperative efforts, so even if these two cases are not the most active metropolitan regions, no serious harm will have been done.

Initiation of the case studies commenced by sending letters to the chief school officers of the two proposed central cities seeking their cooperation and support. This commitment was achieved without difficulty.

Data collection was conducted as follows:

1. Preliminary visits to Nashville and Hartford were made by the Research Assistant. Data sources were identified, and all available printed materials were collected. Appropriate educational, planning and political leaders were contacted, and each person was asked to identify other useful sources of information.
2. Subscriptions for the largest selling newspaper in both regions were obtained and a file of clippings was collected for the period, March 1, 1970 through July 1, 1970. All references to regional efforts were retained.
3. Library sources on general metropolitan educational developments and specifically on Hartford and Nashville were sought. Copies were obtained when this seemed appropriate. The search was conducted in the Library of Congress, the University of Rochester Library, the collection at the Genesee Valley Regional Planning Office; and a search was authorized of current studies by the Science Information Exchange of the Smithsonian Institute. References deemed valuable are identified in the Bibliography.

4. Depth interviews were conducted in the two regions. Persons holding the following positions were queried: chief school officers of the central cities, chief school officers of five suburban school districts in the Hartford area (a sample stratified on enrollment was employed), additional school administrators from the central city districts who were recommended by the chief school officer, the coordinators of any regional educational agencies existing at the time of the field visit, a sample of the leaders of higher educational institutions in the area, the head librarian serving the region, the head(s) of planning agencies, the Commissioner of Education in the state of Connecticut and the Deputy Commissioner in Tennessee, the leaders of teachers' groups in the region, officers of community groups who were identified by school leaders, the presidents of the central city school boards, other school board members who were suggested by other interviewees, political leaders who were recommended by more than one interviewee, a sample of the leaders of private schools, and some others. A list of the interviewees and the interview schedules are found in the Appendices.

5. Every person consulted was encouraged to supply any printed materials he was willing to give or loan to the researchers.

6. Statistical reports dealing with the two regions were obtained from the appropriate state education department.

7. Two brief questionnaires were administered. Copies of them along with an example of the covering letters are located in the Appendices.

One instrument was administered to all individuals who were identified by one or more of the interviewees as a valuable resource and to the "executive officer" of all social, political and educational organizations listed in the Yellow Pages of the two metropolitan telephone directories.

The second questionnaire, a slightly revised version of the first, was sent to a 25 percent random sample of principals of the public schools of the two metropolitan regions. In the Greater Hartford area the sample of building administrators was drawn from the five school districts whose chief school officers participated in the study.

8. Many other educational leaders in these two communities were contacted. These were encouraged to send descriptive materials and many of them did.

After these data were collected they were analyzed by the research team. Specific findings for each case study will be reported separately and a conclusions section combining the findings will be presented.

Some Limitations

These are case studies. Generalizing on the basis of these two communities is a very risky enterprise indeed. The writers have tried to avoid such action, and readers are encouraged to do likewise.

Also, it should be noted that the researchers realize full well that they don't have a complete understanding of the educational situation in these complex urban communities. Despite efforts to obtain a general, balanced view, there are, no doubt, many unfortunate omissions. The writers can only regret the deficiencies and warn the reader that they do exist.

Finally, no claims for causal or even associational relations among the variables reported herein are made. No statistical analyses have been undertaken in this report because such efforts did not seem appropriate. This is a descriptive study of the attempts to metropolitanize education in two complex and interesting urban communities.

NOTES—INTRODUCTION

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2. The Commission was appointed by President L. B. Johnson on January 12, 1967.

3. Hodge, Patricia L. and Philip M. Hauser, THE CHALLENGE OF AMERICA's METROPOLITAN POPULATION OUTLOOK, 1960 to 1985, Praeger, 1968.

4. "Population of Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas: 1960 and 1950," 1960 Census of Population, Supplementary Reports, U. S. Bureau of Census, 1961.

5. Ibid., p. 4.

6. The U. S. government defines SMSA as a "county or group of contiguous counties which contains at least one city of 50,000 inhabitants or more . . . Contiguous counties are included in an SMSA if they are essentially metropolitan in character and are socially and integrated with the central city."

   There is considerable dissatisfaction with the SMSA concept. See, for example, METROPOLITAN AREA DEFINITION; A RE-EVALUATION OF THE CONCEPT by Brian J. Berry and Others, U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1969. While the writers regard these concerns to be valid and significant, they don't seem to require elaboration here.

7. Hodge and Hauser, ibid., pp. 51, 53, 55 and 56.

8. Ibid., p.

9. Lear, John, "Environment and the Quality of Life," SATURDAY REVIEW, March 6, 1971, p. 45.

10. Wilson, James Q., (Ed.), THE METROPOLITAN ENIGMA, Harvard University Press, 1968, p. 318.

11. Gordon, Mitchell, SICK CITIES, Penguin, 1965, p. ii.

12. Aron, Joan B., THE QUEST FOR REGIONAL COOPERATION, University of California Press, 1969, p. 3.

13. Ibid., p. 6.

14. DIGEST OF EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS, 1969, Office of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1969, p. 42.

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19. Egner, J. E., W. T. Lowe and F. H. Stutz, REGIONAL EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN NEW YORK STATE, N. Y. State Education Dept., 1969.

20. Zimmer, Basil G. and Amos H. Hawley, METROPOLITAN AREA SCHOOLS-RESISTANCE TO DISTRICT REORGANIZATION, Sage, 1968.

21. URBAN AFFAIRS QUARTERLY, URBAN RESEARCH NEWS, NATION's CITIES and the JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS.

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FINDINGS IN NASHVILLE

Setting

Area...Prior to 1962 there was a political entity called the city of Nashville. It was the core or the heart of a region that has been defined in a variety of ways.

The city as a distinct political unit no longer exists; obviously, however, the people and the land still form the center of a social and economic region. The old city and the rest of Davidson County, Tennessee, are now known as Metropolitan Nashville—Davidson County, and there is a single government. Davidson County has thus become one definition of the Nashville region.

The former city of Nashville is also the economic and social hub of an SMSA that was enlarged by the U. S. Census Bureau in 1963 by adding Wilson and Sumner Counties to Davidson.[1]

The regional boundaries have been broadened still further by a number of other sources. The Metropolitan Planning Commission of Nashville, for example, after a detailed analysis of patterns of employment, transportation, power sources, telephone service, newspaper subscriptions, population distribution and projections, drainage and other physiographic conditions, recommended the following:[2]

> Therefore, to promote the orderly use of land and resources in the public interest; to enhance the attractiveness, harmony and the social and economic prosperity of the region; and in order to promote the health, safety, and general welfare of the region it is essential to the public interest that a multi-county regional planning commission be created, whose purpose would be to develop an overall coordinated planning program for at least the area comprising Davidson, Sumner, Wilson, Williamson and Rutherford Counties.

This recommendation was a compromise; actually many arguments for including at least four more counties were given. It should be noted that Williamson and Rutherford Counties do not at this time meet certain of the criteria that are used by the Census Bureau to designate an SMSA.

Further, an agency called the Mid-Cumberland Council of Governments was formed in 1968. This is one of the numerous voluntary councils mentioned in the Introduction. It includes the five counties specified above plus Montgomery, Cheatham and Robertson Counties.[3] Finally a ten county association has been organized on a voluntary basis by the appropriate Chambers of Commerce.[4]

These various boundaries for the region have caused some difficulty for the researchers, because data bases are not consistent. From this point forward in this report, three definitions for the region will be used. They will be labeled using the following abbreviations:

1. Nashville (Davidson County including the old city of Nashville).
2. Nashville SMSA (Davidson, Sumner and Wilson Counties).
3. Nashville MPC (Metropolitan Planning Commission) Region (Davidson, Wilson, Sumner, Williamson and Rutherford Counties).

The five county Nashville MPC Region is an area of 2,885 square miles forming a rough pyramid. It is approximately 70 miles from the base to the tip of the triangle (north-south) and an equal distance at the base from east to west. The Cumberland River, a major stream in the Tennessee River Valley system and, therefore, a part of the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) meanders through the area in a generally westward direction. This river and its tributaries drains most of the five county region. A system of dams has controlled the waterway and has provided hydroelectric power, an inexpensive means of transportation, a dependable domestic water supply and recreational facilities.

Geologically, most of the five county area lies within the Nashville Basin or the Central Basin of Tennessee, a very fertile area, that attracted settlers at the earliest stages of the modern history of the State.[5] Geographers place the Nashville Basin within the Lower Ohio Valley Region or the Interior Low Plateau.[6] This is a transitional zone between the Corn Belt and the Cotton Belt and these three regions together form the Central Farming Region of the United States, clearly one of the two or three richest agricultural regions in the world.

In spite of this richness, it should be noted that the topsoil is shallow and the bed rock is extremely resistant to erosion. Sewer construction, particularly, but also housing and transportation construction has been seriously impeded by this fact—no small problem for an urban area.[7]

Climate..."The climate of Nashville and surrounding counties is characterized by relatively mild winters, warm summers, and generally abundant rainfall."[8] The average temperature in January, the coldest month, is 39.9°F. and in July, 80.2°F. The average annual rainfall is over 45 inches, and the average snowfall is slightly over ten inches.[9] There is no significant climate variation among the five counties. The growing season is approximately 200 days.[10] In short, the Nashville Basin and the neighboring Highland Rim of Tennessee are typical examples of warm, humid, subtropical climate.

Population...The Nashville MPC Region contained 541,263 people at the time of the 1960 census.[11] Of this number, the core county, Davidson, had 399,743 residents or almost three quarters of the total.[12] The three county Nashville SMSA contained 468,200 people in 1960,[13] and the SMSA was reported to have 531,100 people in 1967.[14] It ranked 61st among the SMSA's of the United States, second in size in Tennessee, and 14th in the Southeast.[15]

Continued rapid population growth is projected for the Nashville MPC Region. Using current low fertility rates as a basis for computations, a total increment of 308,737 persons is expected during the twenty-five year period, 1960-1985.[16] This means a 57% increase. Interestingly enough, this is the identical percentage by which the total group of metropolitan regions in the United States is expected to grow.[17] However, this rate of growth is slower than that expected for the SMSA's of the south as a whole, for it is anticipated that all southern metropolitan regions combined will grow at a remarkable 75%.[18] The increases in the booming states of Florida and Texas probably account for most of this difference.

According to all the examined projections, the suburban and rural fringe counties of the Nashville MPC Region will grow faster than will Davidson County. This is consistent with national trends. Table 3 below depicts the projected relative growth of the urban hub and the surrounding area for a twenty-five year period.

Table 3

Estimated and Projected Total Population of the Nashville MPC Region and Nashville-Davidson County, 1960-85[19]

Year	Nashville MPC Region	Nashville-Davidson County	Davidson County as Percent of Region
1960	541,263	399,743	73.9%
1965	609,000	445,000	73.1
1970	662,400	475,500	71.8
1975	722,000	510,200	70.7
1980	785,000	545,600	69.5
1985	850,000	580,800	68.3

The 1960 Census of the Nashville MPC Region indicated that 97,340 persons were nonwhite—18% of the total population.[20] The number of whites is expected to rise faster than the nonwhites—58.8% growth of the white population from 1960 to 1985 and 50.8% increase of the nonwhites.[21] By 1980, then, the nonwhites will comprise 17.3% of the population.[22] In Davidson County the reverse is predicted, i.e., the nonwhite population will grow faster than the white—44.7% for whites, 47.8% for nonwhites.[23] Again, consistent with the national demographic trends cited in the previous section of this report, the following changes in the age structure of the residents of the Nashville MPC Region are anticipated:[24]

1. The percentage of the under 15 age group will be relatively smaller in 1985 than it was in 1960. (The birth rate was at an all-time low in the United States in 1969.)

2. The over 65 age group, on the other hand, will be relatively larger in 1985 than it was in 1960. This gain will occur almost

exclusively among females, since they tend to outlive males.

3. Also, the young adult group—people in their twenties and thirties—is expected to show an increasing proportion of the regional population.

In sum, the Nashville MPC Region is a demographically typical metropolitan area. Rapid growth is expected, and the greatest amount of the increase is expected among the aged and young adults.

Economy...In comparison with the rest of Tennessee and with the South as a whole, the Nashville MPC Region has an impressively vigorous and diversified economy. Furthermore, "it is anticipated that the Nashville Metropolitan Region will continue to experience a healthy rate of economic expansion [at least] through the mid-1980's."[25] In addition, the relative importance and strength of the region in the national economy is expected to increase significantly at least until 1985—the last year for which projections were available.[26]

Table 4 below reflects the actual and anticipated picture of employment data in the Nashville MPC Region for 1960, 1970, and 1980.

Table 4

Employment by Category in the Nashville MPC Region for 1960, 1970, and 1980[27]

	1960		1970		1980	
Industry	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Agriculture, Forestry, Fisheries and Mining	8,850	5.0	7,500	2.6	6,650	1.8
Construction	15,850	6.2	16,250	5.7	20,600	5.6
Manufacturing	55,900	22.9	70,000	24.7	93,200	25.5
Durable goods	22,200	8.7	29,050	10.3	41,600	11.4
Nondurable goods	33,700	14.2	40,950	14.4	51,600	14.1
Transportation, Communication and other Public Utilities	13,300	6.3	14,050	5.0	15,350	4.2
Wholesale Trade	10,400	4.5	13,300	4.7	18,000	4.9
Retail Trade	34,200	14.7	40,200	14.2	51,900	14.2
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	12,250	4.9	13,900	4.9	17,500	4.8
Services	51,700	20.1	62,900	22.2	85,700	23.4
Business and Repair	6,200	2.4	7,620	2.7	10,225	2.8
Personal	21,700	8.7	25,480	9.0	33,375	9.1
Entertainment and Recreation	1,500	0.7	1,580	0.6	2,100	0.6
Professional and Related	22,300	8.3	28,220	9.9	40,000	10.9
Government	31,700	12.2	37,300	13.1	48,900	13.3
Other	7,350	3.2	8,200	2.9	8,400	2.3
Total	241,500		283,600		366,200	

Combining these regional employment data with national economic figures and projections and with other information concerning the Nashville economy the following conclusions seem warranted:

Agricultural and extractive employment will decline rapidly in the nation during the period 1960 to 1980. But, the rate of decline in the Nashville MPC Region will be even greater than that for the nation as a whole. Farming and mining, then, are markedly becoming less important in the local economy. However, dairy production will continue to be a fairly significant economic factor.[28] In addition to dairying and other forms of livestock agriculture, tobacco and cotton are still cash crops.[29]

Although the construction industry will show an absolute increase in Nashville, the growth rate is not an entirely satisfactory one and it lags behind expectations for the nation.[30]

Manufacturing employment presents a highly favorable picture.

> It appears quite certain that the local gains in this sector will surpass the projected national growth . . . The bulk of this growth will be concentrated in the durable goods industry.[31] Furthermore, labor productivity in the metropolitan region [has been improving] more rapidly than in Tennessee's other SMSA's, the State, or the nation . . . Thus in recent years the manufacturing sector in the Region has improved its work force both quantitatively and qualitatively at a faster pace than have its counterparts in the rest of Tennessee and the nation.[32]

The most important manufactured products for the local economy include nylon, cellophane, packed meats, bags, hosiery, shoes, publications (largest center of the printing industry in the South, and produces more religious publications than any other area in the country),[33] stoves, aircraft parts, electrical appliances, furniture, and auto glass. The largest industrial employers include Ford, DuPont, Genesco, Avco, and Gates Rubber.[34]

Two other observations regarding employment in manufacturing should be made. One is a positive sign but the other is negative. On the positive side the Nashville MPC Region largely because of the growth in employment in this sector, consistently has the lowest unemployment rate among the SMSA's of Tennessee[35] and one of the lowest rates among the metropolitan rates of the country.[36] A low unemployment rate in manufacturing has contributed to the fact that the Nashville MPC Region has a comparatively strong position for the South in terms of per capita personal income and effective buying income per household.[37] On the other hand, earnings per man hour in manufacturing in the Nashville area have tended since 1958 to lag behind those of the other southern SMSA's, and labor leaders and others have made dire warnings related to this fact.[38]

In the transportation, retail and wholesale trade areas present and anticipated employment shows signs of good health.[39]

One of the strongest segments of the Nashville economy is in the finance category. "Nashville is primarily a commercial rather than an industrial city . . . It specializes in banking and insurance."[40] (Interestingly enough, the only city in the country having more large insurance company headquarters is Hartford, Connecticut.)

Continued growth in the service area is expected and Nashville is and undoubtedly will continue to be particularly well off in the "professional services" category. This is partly a result of the fact that the area is a regional and national center of higher education—more on this later.[41] Another major ingredient in this category is "country and western" music. Ever since 1925 the "Grand Ol' Opry" has been a grand old money maker. Today, the music business adds more than $60,000,000 annually to the Nashville economy. Only New York City produces more recordings. "Music Row" and the "Country Music Hall of Fame" are major tourist attractions of the region.[42]

Finally, Nashville as the capital city of Tennessee has had a high proportion of its working force employed by the State government. This provides a growing and secure economic base.

To repeat, then, Nashville has a solid and expanding economy. It is in the economic forefront among southern metropolitan areas. It is true, of course, that the South lags behind the rest of the country on most economic indicators, but it also has a lower cost of living index. "Costs in Nashville rank among the lowest and ranged from four to eight percent below the urban United States averages."[43] While there are soft spots, the Nashville area is an economically fortunate one. Using per capita income as the criterion, Table 5 summarizes this situation:

Table 5

Per Capita Income, Tennessee SMSA's and U. S., 1929-1966[44]

Area	Dollars					Percentage of nat'l aver.				
	1929	1940	1950	1962	1966	1929	1940	1950	1962	1966
Chattanooga	652	509	1,309	1,976	2,788	92	86	88	83	94
Knoxville	487	459	1,354	1,989	2,557	69	78	91	84	86
Memphis	629	521	1,360	1,979	2,554	89	88	91	84	86
Nashville	610	519	1,337	2,207	2,807	87	88	90	93	95
Southeast SMSA's	589	527	1,366	2,139	2,776	84	89	92	90	94
Southeast non-SMSA area	266	245	796	1,390	1,838	38	42	53	59	62
United States	705	590	1,489	2,368	2,963	100	100	100	100	100
All SMSA counties	928	760	1,739	2,668	3,314	132	129	117	113	112
Non-SMSA area	402	351	1,073	1,757	2,236	57	59	72	74	75

Transportation...Three interstate highways focus on Nashville forming north-south, east-west and northwest-southeast routes. They are in various stages of completion, but even though incomplete they are already of tremendous economic importance. (It is true, however, that these super roads are a mixed blessing since they contribute to urban sprawl.) At least six more U. S. highways serve the area. State, county, and other highways are numerous and, generally, well maintained. Local sources of information seem to be very proud of the highway network with the only negative comment uncovered having to do with the need for planning and maintenance of roads on a regional basis.[45]

Nashville is also a rail center, but the relative importance of the railroads has sharply declined in recent years.[46]

The northcentral section of Tennessee is served by a major jetport in southeastern Davidson County. The airport is conveniently located on two of the interstate highways, so the trip to or from the airport within the five county MPC Region is nearly always an easy one. Nine commercial airlines served the area with 83 daily flights in 1969.[47]

The Cumberland River as a means of transportation has already been noted. Barge traffic within the Tennessee-Ohio River systems is on the increase. Recent improvements in the pattern of locks has shortened the time involved. This is a very inexpensive means of transport serving the heavy industries of the area very well.

Utilities...The Nashville-Davidson County Planning Commission is, in general, very enthusiastic about the local public utilities situation. The major reasons for this attitude are: (1) an abundance of raw water is available,[48] and (2) TVA has meant inexpensive and plentiful electric power. The local Public Relations Office claims that because of its central location within the TVA system, Nashville has one of the lowest rates for electricity of any metropolitan region in the United States. For example, Nashville residents pay half the cost of electric power in Detroit or Cleveland and only a third of the cost in New York City or Boston.[49]

There seem to be only two major difficulties for the region in the public utilities field. First there is a lack of total regional planning and coordination, and, second, is the high cost of sewer construction, previously noted. The resistant, close-to-the-surface, bed rock also causes difficulties for septic systems.

According to one interviewee, there are some signs that the Planning Commission is beginning to provide the needed coordination,[50] but outside of Davidson County compliance with MPC recommendations is entirely voluntary. Also, being a part of TVA has necessarily resulted in a degree of planning on, for example, water resources.

Miscellaneous Social and Economic Data...There is some other social and economic information that may help to set the scene. These data are mixed—some are positive and some are negative.

Nashville has a serious shortage of adequate housing. A higher percentage of its housing was rated "dilapidated" in the 1960 Census than in any other SMSA in Tennessee.[51] Since Tennessee is in the poorest quartile among the states in terms of housing, this is truly a depressing aspect of the situation in Nashville.

Similarly grim, Nashville had a higher crime rate than the other three SMSA's of Tennessee.[52] However, in this instance, Tennessee has a crime rate well below the national average.

According to the most recent data available, the Nashville SMSA had more telephones, more radios and more television sets per hundred residents than did the other metropolitan areas of Tennessee.[53] But, Tennessee is one of the poorer states in these terms. All the major networks have outlets in Nashville, and there are the usual supply of local stations (13 radio and 5 TV). The ETV station is owned by the school district. There are two daily newspapers one of which is generally regarded to be "conservative" and the other "liberal." This is viewed as an asset since a number of cities in the Nashville size range have one editorial direction for all of their dailies, e.g., Cincinnati, Ohio, and Rochester, New York. (As will be seen, the two Nashville newspapers played a key role in the merger of County and City governments.) In the area of mass media and communications, then, Nashville appears to be ahead of a good many of the cities with which it might be compared.

Nashville has a symphony orchestra, one of 35 remaining in the country. Continuous public art showings are available at the Parthenon and at the Chreekwood Botanical Gardens, a general fine arts center.

Government...Prior to April 1, 1963, the city of Nashville had a "strong Mayor-Council" type of government. This is to say, that the Mayor, a popularly elected official, was a relatively powerful chief executive and that the Council served the legislative role. The Vice-Mayor was the presiding officer of the Council. These executive and legislative officials were all elected for four year terms. Appointments to the various boards and commissions including the school board were made by the Mayor. Some of these appointments had to be approved by the Council; however, this was not the case for members of the Board of Education. The Mayor selected his staff subject only to Civil Service regulations. The administration of the last Mayor of the city of Nashville was referred to by both the friendly and not so friendly newspapers as a "powerful political machine."

Before the merger there was also a separate government for Davidson County. There was an elected chief executive called the County Judge, a designation with executive connotations peculiar to the South. He was also a judicial official in the usual sense (Probate Judge). He was the fiscal agent for the County and Chairman of the Quarterly County Court. His term of office was eight years. He too was called a powerful political leader by local sources, but he did not have the broad executive powers of the Mayor in the city. Legislative functions were conducted by the Quarterly County Court, and fifty-five magistrates (legislators) served.

> Nineteen of the magistrates were elected at large from the city of Nashville . . . thrity were elected from fifteen two-member suburban or rural civil districts; and the remaining six were elected from the six [other] incorporated cities. The magistrates were elected for a six year term.[54]

In addition, the typical array (for a southern county) of constables, trustees, clerks, and a registrar, an assessor, a sheriff, and an attorney general were elected.

Today, the old city of Nashville and Davidson County are combined into one government. The new government like the old city is a "major-council type." The Mayor is directly elected for a four year term and is limited to three consecutive full terms. The legislative body or the Council has forty members; thirty-five of whom are elected from single member districts and five are elected at large. The presiding officer of the Council is the Vice-Mayor who is elected for a four year term by the voters of the County.

Table 6 which follows depicts the current government of Nashville-Davidson County. Examination of the chart will reveal that:

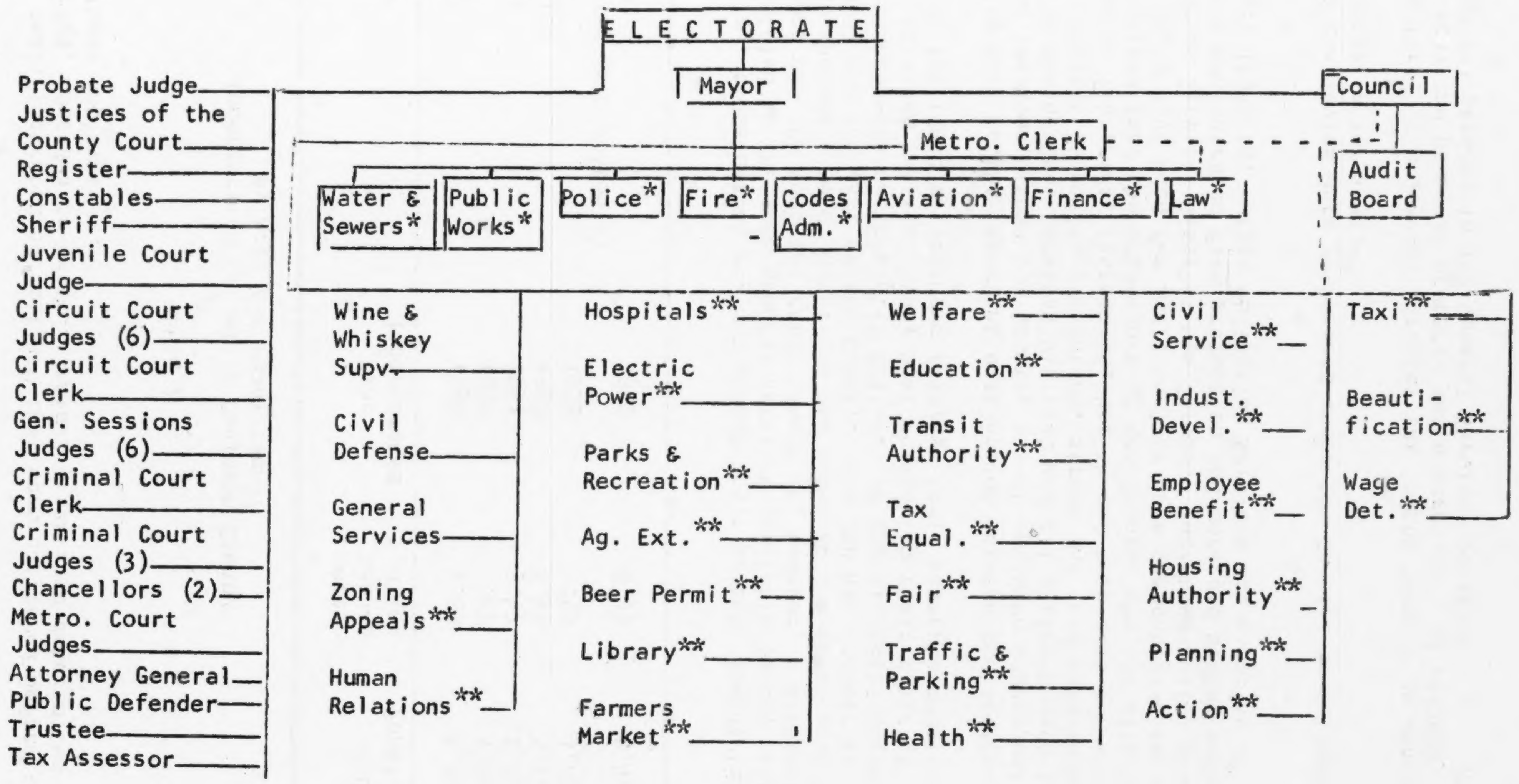
The Mayor appoints the Directors of the eight executive departments, Fire, Police, Finance, Public Works, Law, Water and Sewerage Services, Aviation and Codes Administration. Varying Charter provisions apply to the appointments including Council confirmation on some of them. Board and commission members including the Metropolitan School Board are also appointed by the Mayor subject to Charter provisions and Council confirmation. (The school board will be discussed later in more detail.)

Certain other officials (listed at the left on Table 6) are directly elected by the citizens. Some of these appear to be somewhat ceremonial and anachronistic, but the elections are required by State law and are legitimized by the local Charter.[56]

The judicial branch of the local government is basically the same as it was before the merger. Further, there does not seem to be any distinguishing features from the typical pattern for Tennessee or for the Southeast.

Table 6

The Metropolitan Government of Nashville-Davidson County, Tennessee[55]


ELECTORATE
Mayor
Council
Metro. Clerk
Audit Board
Water & Sewers*
Public Works*
Police*
Fire*
Codes Adm.*
Aviation*
Finance*
Law*
Probate Judge
Justices of the County Court
Register
Constables
Sheriff
Juvenile Court Judge
Circuit Court Judges (6)
Circuit Court Clerk
Gen. Sessions Judges (6)
Criminal Court Clerk
Criminal Court Judges (3)
Chancellors (2)
Metro. Court Judges
Attorney General
Public Defender
Trustee
Tax Assessor
Wine & Whiskey Supv.
Civil Defense
General Services
Zoning Appeals**
Human Relations**
Hospitals**
Electric Power**
Parks & Recreation**
Ag. Ext.**
Beer Permit**
Library**
Farmers Market**
Welfare**
Education**
Transit Authority**
Tax Equal.**
Fair**
Traffic & Parking**
Health**
Civil Service**
Indust. Devel.**
Employee Benefit**
Housing Authority**
Planning**
Action**
Taxi**
Beautification**
Wage Det.**

*Major Departments

**Boards and Commissions

Six small incorporated "cities" that were chartered before the merger occurred, continue to exist. Table 7 gives some descriptive data concerning these enclaves.

Table 7

Incorporated Cities in Davidson County by Area and Population[57]

	Year Incorporated	Area Square Miles	1960 Population
Belle Meade	1938	2.80	3,082
Berry Hill	1950	.87	1,551
Forest Hills	1957	9.47	2,101
Goodlettsville	1958	6.43	3,163
Lakewood (Incorporated as Dupontonia)	1959	.95	1,896
Oak Hill	1952	8.37	4,490

By law, these cities may not expand their present boundaries. They are entitled to the same general services available to the rest of the County and pay the same tax rate. There is, however, a distinction made between the old city of Nashville now known as the Urban Services District (USD) and the rest of the County. The USD has greater services and higher taxes—more on this will follow. If the six small cities ever want these increased services, they must relinquish their district charters. So far these cities have retained their separate charters.

Going back to the important distinction between two levels of services and taxation within the County, all of Davidson County was designated as the General Services District and all citizens were to receive such services as police protection, street and road maintenance, schools, parks, libraries, recreation, health and hospitals and welfare. It was recognized that the urban core of the County, the old city of Nashville, would have need for additional or more concentrated services, hence the Urban Services District was formed. Increased police protection; more concentrated fire protection and more and better water, sewer, street lighting, refuse collection services are examples of such services.

Two tax levies were authorized under the Charter to account for the differences in services.[58]

> The first is a General Services tax in the form of an annual tax on real and personal property and a merchants' ad valorem tax upon all persons in the General Services District . . . The

> second tax is a levy in the form of an annual tax on real and personal property and a merchants' ad valorem tax upon all persons in the Urban Services District.

The difference between the two tax rates is quite pronounced. For example, in 1965-66, the property tax in the General Services District alone was $3.50 per one hundred dollars of assessment while the tax in the Urban Services District was $5.30. Some questions about the equity of this arrangement continue to be raised.[59] However, most citizens appear to be satisfied.

There is also a County-wide sales tax of 1.5% that was enacted primarily to serve the schools. The people also pay directly for sewer services instead of having them added to the tax package. Even with these two added assessments, the present Mayor of Nashville-Davidson County boasts, "that Nashville has the lowest effective tax rate of any SMSA in Tennessee."[60] He also is happy to point out that the property tax rate in the Urban Services District is actually smaller than it was in 1963.[61] This should be seen in the context that Tennessee has one of the lowest per capita tax rates in the United States.[62]

The Urban Services District may be expanded to include other parts of the county by order of the Metropolitan Council whenever it decides that a new section has need of full urban services. Although this section of the Charter has never been applied, the principle seems highly significant. It provides a mechanism for adjusting to further urbanization whether or not the residents of a given area agree with the "city fathers." The distinction between urban services and taxes and suburban-rural services and taxes was called "the basic element of the plan" by the Chairman of the Charter Committee.[63]

Using the 1960 census which is unfortunately the most recent available for this purpose, the various Councilmanic districts have approximately the same population. The mean ratio would be close to one Council member for every 11,000 citizens. The districts vividly reveal the racially segregated housing patterns in Nashville-Davidson County, for of the thirty-five districts, only seven have less than ninety percent of one race or the other—two districts are better than ninety-five percent black and eight districts are less than one percent black.[64] As will be seen, the districts were deliberately drawn along racial lines. The districts on the fringe of the County are much larger in terms of square miles, and are, therefore, less dense.

The old Quarterly County Court has lost nearly all of its collective functions, however, individual Justices (magistrates) have the same powers that they had before the merger, i.e., issuing criminal and search warrants, accepting appearance bonds, issuing civil processes, performing marriages and administering oaths.

Here then is a combined city-county government which includes all or nearly all of the local public functions under one jurisdiction. This is close to the idealized totally restructured model referred to in the first section of this report, but the entire region is not included. Only a couple metropolitan areas of the United States are in the same company with Nashville as far as the degree to which consolidation of public services in the core county has been achieved.[65] For this reason, it is believed that a historical sketch of the merger is desirable.

Historical Perspective on the Merger...Space will not permit more than a brief survey of the historical development of the "metro idea" in greater Nashville. Fortunately, however, at least three fairly detailed historical accounts are readily available.[66] These three discussions are in basic agreement and they seem to be consistent with the information obtained during the field visits by these researchers. All that will be done here is to summarize briefly these three secondary sources. The listing of the events is adapted from a fourth document published by the Metropolitan Planning Commission.[67]

1. "Future Nashville" published in June 1953.

Largely through the efforts of a group of businessmen called the Tennessee Taxpayers Association, and the then separate Planning Commissions of the City of Nashville and of Davidson County, a bill was passed by the Tennessee General Assembly to create the Community Services Commission for Davidson County and the City of Nashville. This legislation authorized the naming of 15 commissioners to study local governments in the County, and to make recommendations for their improvement. The governments of the City and the County agreed to provide the necessary funds for the study. The resulting report, "Future Nashville," was highly critical and documented the existence of serious overlaps and omissions of public services. The Commission's recommendations included:[68] "Annexation of suburban Nashville by the City, County responsibility for county-wide functions, City and County home rule, and a redistricting of Davidson County."

At this time, the major obstacles to moving toward consolidation according to this source were,[69] "jealousy between the competing City and County school systems and the reluctance of politically entrenched administrators to risk their positions by changing the structure," plus the fact that "the people in the suburbs did not trust the ward politics of the City and feared that their property values would be endangered . . ." Undoubtedly, these fears were founded in part on ethnocentric concerns, but there is no reason to believe that in 1953 Nashville had any more or less anxieties about consolidation than would be true in most metropolitan regions.

"The net result of the Community Service Commission's efforts was to transfer the city health department and the city juvenile court to Davidson County."[70] The other recommendations were ignored or blocked by various forces. Reformers were disappointed. Clearly, part of the problem was the existent legal roadblocks. The State Constitution made consolidation or annexation very difficult if not impossible to achieve. However, weaknesses of the status quo had been spotlighted.

2. Consolidation Admendment to the Tennessee Constitution, ratified in November 1953.

This admendment and subsequent "annexation legislation" by the

State in 1955 eased the legal path somewhat, and the legal developments were necessary steps in the Nashville "metro story."

3. "Plan of Metropolitan Government . . ." published by the City and County planning commissions in 1956.

This report which had been requested by a variety of reform-minded individuals and groups strongly recommended,[71] "The creation of a single Metropolitan Government to replace existing City and County Governments."

The strategy of the authors of this report was to obtain the support of both of the key political figures, the Mayor of Nashville and the County Judge of Davidson County. This was no small task for although both men probably realized that some form of a combined government was desirable, the Mayor favored the annexation route and the Judge wanted consolidation. Political scientist, Brett Hawkins, calls the resulting and eventually successful compromise,[72] "annexation in the short run and city-county consolidation in the long run."

Both newspapers, the "conservative" BANNER and the "liberal" TENNESSEAN, supported this report and, apparently, they rarely agreed on anything. Both factions of the Democratic party—central Tennessee has been basically a one party area—i.e., the "Mayor's group" and the "Judge's group" endorsed this document. The heart of the proposal was the distinction already noted between the General Services District and the Urban Services District.[73]

4. "Enabling Act" of the 1957 Tennessee General Assembly.

This legislation was the necessary implementation of the Constitutional Amendment of 1953. It provided for the consolidation of City and County functions into a single metropolitan government, and it enabled the drafting of a charter by a Charter Commission.

5. "Charter of Metropolitan Government," 1958.

The City Council and the County Court authorized the formation of this Charter Commission. The Mayor appointed five members and the Judge selected five. They included a State Senator, "a leading industrialist," a suburban businessman, an attorney who had been a labor-endorsed State Representative, a "prominent" woman attorney, an elementary school principal from a low income neighborhood, a black community leader, a labor leader, a black City Councilman and two additional attorneys.[74] So, clearly, an attempt was made to get a representative group.

The Charter Commission employed members of the two Planning Commissions, local educators, various attorneys and others as consultants. The meetings were open to the media and to the public, but according to Hawkins, the sessions were poorly attended.[75]

The work of the Charter Commission provided what eventually became the basic form of the Metropolitan Government. As will be seen, however, there were set backs. The Chairman of the group suggests that the following were the most difficult decisions: How much power should the executive have? How large and what form of representation should be used in the Council? How should minority group representation be assured? What should be done about existing personnel and personnel policies? For example, who was going to serve as a department head in the new government when two people had been playing these roles in the old governments? Or, what should be done about resolving the problems created by two quite different pension plans? How should the new school board be selected? (The Chairman of the Commission calls this,[76] "the most difficult question which confronted the Commission.") How should the bonded indebtedness of the component governments be handled? Was it fair to burden citizens with the debts of a government in which they had not been represented?

These are sticky issues, but debate and compromise led to eventual "answers" to these questions. Most of the answers have already been suggested in the previous section on government. Three additional points should be made:

First, on the issue of representation for minority group members, two councilmanic districts were deliberately drawn so that black representation was almost inevitable.

Second, the following arrangements were achieved on the governance of schools. A nine man school board was to be appointed by the Mayor with a two-thirds confirmation vote from the Council necessary. Each board member was to be the representative of a given geographic area of the County—four councilmanic districts were combined in each of eight school board constitutencies and three councilmanic districts were combined in the ninth school board district. Again, the combinations of councilmanic districts were made in such a way as virtually to assure at least one black member on the Board of Education.

Finally, the indebtedness problem was resolved by the provision that if the service involved was for the entire County, then the debt was the responsibility of all taxpayers in the General Services District; but if the services were for residents of the old city only, then the responsibility belonged to the people of the Urban Services District. Thus, for example, a debt incurred to build a bridge across the Cumberland River that is located in the central city but is used by residents of the entire County would be paid for by all the taxpayers of the County.

In spite of all these compromises and in spite of the support from both newspapers and from both major political factions and from all the reform-oriented civic groups, the Charter of 1958 was rejected by the voters. Actually, the light vote in the City was positive, but the heavy vote in the County outside the City was negative—19,255 noes and 13,794 yeses.[77] The law stipulated that all jurisdictions included in any consolidation attempt had to vote favorably. Thus, Nashville was following the typical pattern in the United States, i.e., suburban voters were saying, no, to metropolitanism.

Who voted, No? Why? The following factors seem to be associated with the negative decision:

A "massive scare campaign" was undertaken a week before the vote.[78] It was "a bitter whirl-wind attack." Spot radio and television jingles and announcements were made. Leaflets were distributed wherever people congregate—bus stops, theaters, and at factory gates when the whistle blew. Also, a good many teachers in the County schools apparently distributed negative materials through the children.[80] The weapon used in these messages was fear—fear of all sorts of evils—higher taxes; dictatorial powers in the hands of the new mayor; extending liquor sales into certain "dry" suburbs; big government; even socialism and communism were offered as likely results of metropolitanization.[81] Racist and ethnocentric attacks did not surface in the published materials, but it seems reasonable to assume that fears based on these forces played a role.

Many black voters were aware that consolidation would dilute their voting power. Voting districts within and outside (some rural ghettos) the city with large percentages of Negroes did not support the metro idea.[82]

Private fire, police and refuse collection companies operating in the suburbs were apparently very effective opponents. They were worried about their contracts if metropolitan government became a reality. "The constables, half the City Council and half of the County Court" fought consolidation because they too might well be out of jobs.[83]

"Virtually every rural district in the County voted heavily against the Charter."[84] One of these, the 10th District, voted 90.7 percent negatively.[85] Apparently, rural voters simply wanted no part of the urban life.

Hawkins takes the position that the lack of an effective grass roots campaign for the charter was a major factor. Interviews with several leaders tend to support this view.[86]

6. Reactions of the City Government to Charter Defeat.

Typically, the City Government was in financial trouble. Nearly 40% of the real estate was tax exempt, the cost of services was going up, property values were deteriorating and ever increasing numbers of County dwellers were using city services and facilities without paying for them. Voluntary metropolitanism had been tried and failed; therefore, something else must be done! The Mayor of the City apparently gave up on the hope of voluntary consolidation. As indicated, the annexation route had previously been attractive for him.

The City imposed a ten dollar wheel tax on motor vehicles using the streets of Nashville more than thirty days a year. People who didn't pay, and there were many of them, were arrested, taken to court and fined fifty dollars.[87] The tax brought some needed money to the City coffers, but it also brought a large measure of bad will in the County toward the City government. This bad will was an important factor in the eventual success of the metropolitan plan.

But an even more influential force was at work. Two days after the charter vote, the City Council acted to annex a small parcel of industrial land without a local referendum. In April of 1960, they annexed a large residential area containing 82,000 persons. These annexations were upheld in the local courts and finally in the Supreme Court of Tennessee, but County residents were furious. Apparently, there was a quite inadequate plan to extend full urban services to the new citizens of the City, and the taxes of the annexed regions were actually higher than those in the City. But the major issue seemed to be that suburban residents resented the "heavy-handed" method of this action totally without the consent of the persons directly involved.

Another point of friction between City and County residents was over the schools. The Davidson County School Board was unwilling to transfer four of the twenty-two schools in the annexed areas to the City. The County Board did not want to give up these four schools because many of the children attending them still lived in areas governed by the County. Furthermore, the City and the County Boards were over four million dollars apart in their judgments concerning the value of the school property involved. A long and nasty legal battle ensued.

During this same time, the City Council twice voted against other attempts to create charter commissions. The City government led by the Mayor was "fed-up" with Metro.

Two sides were now clearly and openly drawn. Whereas in 1958 the opponents of Metro were somewhat difficult to identify, now the City government and one of the newspapers, the BANNER, were fighting against consolidation and for annexation. The other newspaper, the TENNESSEAN, and the County Government were solidly against annexation and were becoming more and more in favor of consolidation.

7. The Private Act for Davidson County, Tennessee, creating a new Metropolitan Government Charter.

The Mayor of the City and a majority of the City Council successfully blocked another vote for the creation of a metropolitan government, but another means of achieving the same end was possible. It was an involved procedure but the proponents of Metro clearly thought it was worth the effort.

The Davidson County representatives led a fight in the State legislature to pass "private legislation" making it possible to bypass the City Council of Nashville. The Legislature passed an act which authorized the formation of a Charter Commission if the people, not the local governments, would ratify this action. On August 17, 1961, this legislation was approved by the voters both in the City and in the County. The turnout was surprisingly light given all the controversy surrounding the issue, but, interestingly enough, areas which had been decidedly anti-Metro on the previous vote were now voting for the formation of a Charter Committee. Also, it was highly significant that areas which had recently been annexed to the City voted eight to one for the new Charter Commission. Many of these same locations had voted against the Metro idea in 1958.[89]

8. Charter of Metropolitan Government, 1962.

Another Charter Commission was formed. Actually, it was the same group except for two changes. One of them was the Director of Finance for the City of Nashville and the other was a leader of a citizens group that had been actively working for Metro. As before, this was a broadly representative group.

> The new charter commission took as its starting point the 1958 charter, and it was required to operate with essentially the same enabling act as a guide. As a result, much of the work and the issues that confronted it were similar to those of 1958. The major issues were once again the disposition of the schools, representation on the Metro Council (including the question of Negro representation), the nature of the two taxing districts, and the provisions relating to pensions, civil service, and other employment matters. The resulting document was not very much different from the 1958 charter, although just how different was a question about which Metro's opponents and proponents disagree sharply.[90]

The major provisions of the 1962 Charter have already been specified in this report in the section on government.

On June 28, 1962, the Charter was approved in the City of Nashville, for 21,064, against 15,599; and in Davidson County (outside Nashville), for 15,914, against, 12,514. And, so, one of the few integrated city-county governments in the United States was born.

The adoption of the Charter followed a very hard fought campaign. Indeed, Booth calls the developments "an all-out political war with the infighting sometimes assuming vicious proportions."[91] How did it happen that this referendum was successful in Nashville whereas similar attempts in most metropolitan areas have failed? In outline form, the following seem to be the major factors:

The vigorous leadership role played by the TENNESSEAN. This daily is given credit by some opponents and proponents alike of being the single most important force. (It should be remembered that the other daily which had supported Metro in 1958 switched to a negative role.)

The forced annexations and the wheel tax previously described were highly significant. For many voters the choice was joining the City with dignity and proper representation or being forced to join through annexation. Retaining their independence and the status quo just did not seem to be a viable alternative. "Taxation without representation" was heard again and again during the campaign and this referred, of course, to the wheel tax which had been imposed by the City government on the suburbanites.

The Major of the City, largely because of the annexations, was unpopular in the County. A vote for Metro was a vote against the Mayor, since he was clearly an opponent of Metro and very unlikely to have any role in the new metropolitan government.

All sources seem to agree that the campaign by the proponents of Metro was executed very well. It was truly a "grass roots" affair. One interviewee claims that over 6,000 women were ringing doorbells in the City and the County in behalf of Metro.[92]

A closely related point is that many of the major civic business and professional groups were solidly behind the consolidation. Hawkins lists the following as most important: Nashville Area Chamber of Commerce, Educational Council Incorporated, local school PTA's, Nashville Junior Chamber of Commerce, League of Women Voters, Federation of Business and Professional Women, five Jaycee and two Jaycette (suburban) organizations, Civic Committee on Public Education, Citizens Committee for Better Government (created to promote Metro), Council of Jewish Women, Davidson County Association of Fire and Police Departments, and the Tennessee Taxpayers Association. Hawkins also identifies key labor, political, business, industrial and professional (particularly black) persons who were instrumental in the successful campaign.

All this is not meant to suggest that anti-Metro forces were not active. Clearly, they were. The Mayor of the City of Nashville and his major political subordinates; leaders of the six satellite cities; city employees, particularly, police and firemen; leaders of groups on the extreme political right; and some labor groups were militant opponents. They ended their fight by testing the Metro concept in the courts going all the way to the Supreme Court of the State. But they lost their fight with the voters and through the courts. Forty Councilmen, a Mayor and a Vice-Mayor were elected in November 1962 and the Metropolitan Government of Nashville-Davidson County began to function on April 1, 1963.

Nashville-Davidson County has become the model of a politically integrated city-county government in the country. Ed Young, a specialist on urban government, says that,[93] "During the past seven years, Nashville-Davidson County has probably been the most studied government in the United States." The only other two successful attempts at consolidating city and county governments in the 20th Century have drawn heavily on the Nashville experience—Jacksonville, Florida, previously noted, and Indianapolis, Indiana, which in many ways is a more modest and only partial undertaking. Young also says that despite the fact that Nashville-Davidson County fails to provide some of the reforms typically suggested by the literature on metropolitan government;[94] i.e., "It has retained the long ballot with numerous elected officials, a very large Council, civil service status of top administrative officials, and the continuation of several tiny incorporated enclaves; Nashville has greatly improved its government and "is standing the test of time." It should be remembered, however, that even in Nashville, the local government does not serve the entire metropolitan region.

Public Schools

Nashville's metropolitan public school system has the twenty-ninth largest enrollment of all districts in the United States. More than 96,000 pupils were served in 1969-70, and there were better than 4,400 professional employees. Furthermore, unlike many urban school systems, this district has been growing at a steady and impressive rate, i.e., an average increase of 2,000 pupils a year since the merger in 1963.[95] Like other urban areas however, the growth is not occurring in the central-city.

Rationale for the School Merger...As previously noted, a major factor behind the decision to consolidate the governments of Nashville and Davidson County was dissatisfaction with the public schools. Three educators including the first Director of the unified school district have identified the following as being the major problems of the schools prior to consolidation.[96]

1. Both the City and County schools were highly political in the negative sense of the term. In the City, [School] "Board members were unanimous . . . in exhibiting unswerving political loyalty to the Mayor."[97] And, since the Mayor had "forced-out" a superintendent who was popular with many of the teachers and civic leaders, the political interactions were frequently acrimonious. The new superintendent was subject to numerous pressures from the frustrated "reformers" and political infighting was commonplace. In the County,[98] "The fifty-five magistrates of the Quarterly County Court, the mal-apportioned legislative arm of county government, selected the seven members of the county school board and, also, in a separate action, named the county superintendent of schools." Apparently these assignments went only to the politically faithful.[99]

2. There were serious taxation problems. Legislation of the State of Tennessee required that all monies spent for schools within a county must be distributed equally on a per pupil basis (except for transportation). This being the case, city schools were at an advantage. Every time the County raised its school taxes, the City got an equal share per child. However, City residents could and did tax themselves a bit more and not have to share the benefits with the County. The disadvantage for the County was compounded by the fact that all of the enrollment growth was occurring in the County and most of the industrial tax base property was in the City. Obviously, County residents did not like this arrangement. (One of the byproducts of the situation is still causing discord seven years after the merger, i.e., County schools got in the habit of raising funds through means other than taxation such as bazaars and bake sales. These practices to a lesser degree still continue and they place poorer neighborhoods at a distinct disadvantage.) Many difficulties resulted from this taxation situation; as one example, teachers in the County realized that their salaries could never equal those in the Cith with obvious consequences for morale.

The pre-merger disadvantage for the County schools is still a source of conflict. Some people argue that the citizens of the central-city have been shortchanged since the time of the merger because resources have been placed in the County in an effort to have the County schools "catch up."[100] These same people contend that in terms of performance criteria such as achievement test scores, drop out rates, and success in college, that the City schools were actually inferior. Hence they are bitter about giving the County the extra benefits since the merger. But the fact remains that expenditures per pupil before the merger were higher in the City; buildings were newer and less crowded; and the quantity and quality of instructional materials were superior in the urban center.[101] (This is, of course, a significant difference between Nashville and most other metropolitan regions; usually, the central-city schools are inferior in an economic sense.)

3. But, of greatest salience of the pre-merger problems is the apparently generally accepted fact that both school systems were substandard. The chief school officer said:[101A]

> The schools were below national medians in almost every respect. Achievement scores were below the norm in reading and in mathematics. The credentials of some teachers were marginal, and the salaries and professional growth programs were below par. A substantial number of teachers were working outside their certification. Policies of school zoning resulted in a labyrinth that made transportation and attendance work a nightmare. Some school buses were twenty years old, and a number of school plants had reached an embarrassingly low level of repair, representing real fire and safety hazards . . . Some textbooks were ten years old and the supply was low. Instructional materials were scarce, and such items as globes, maps, encyclopedias, and laboratory apparatus were simply non-existent in some schools. Many classes were housed in barrack-type portable classrooms, and a few classes were held in hallways. The pupil-teacher ratio was high. The pattern of school organization had developed through expediency. Leadership had been selected almost exclusively from local people. Purchasing had not been centralized, nor had there been any attempt at central warehousing, data processing, insurance management, and so forth. Pupil personnel services were at a minimum. Copies of most courses of study were either not available or were more than fifteen years old.

A further claim was that the people of Nashville-Davidson County were quite aware of these shortcomings and were generally anxious to do something to rectify the situation.

Transitional Period in Education...Since there were a number of specific events involving education that occurred around the time of the merger that seem significant in terms of the questions raised in this report, several points will be made regarding the ways in which the schools were involved in the merger.

In at least one important respect the schools were ahead of other agencies in the community in the movement to consolidate. The spirit of unity between County and City was actually put into practice in the schools several years before the legal merger occurred. Leaders of the City Teachers' Association in Nashville began diligently to work for a joint teachers' organization in 1958. One student of the movement claims that three major causal factors were involved.[102]

First, the over politicizing issue was again a factor. Many teachers were unwilling to participate in the political activities that were expected of them by the Mayor of Nashville. Apparently, for example, teachers were supposed to join firemen, policemen, and other city employees in electioneering in behalf of the Mayor. They refused. Secondly, the City teachers began to realize that the more affluent citizens, ones who had the resources necessary to be generous to schools, were leaving the City in a regular stream for the suburbs. Third, many believed that the existence of separate teachers groups was being successfully used by economy-minded citizens to the personal detriment of all teachers.

A strong and effective leader emerged in the person of Helen Bain who at the time of this writing is President of the National Education Association. Bain was successful in getting the four teachers organizations—one black and one white in both the City and the County—to unite in 1959. A twenty-four member Education Council was formed to provide leadership for all teachers in the County.

Achieving this coordinated new force in public education was a remarkable event. Blacks had mistrusted whites and vice versa. Teachers realized that dues would have to be increased 300% in the City and 500% in the County in order to do the things they wanted to do. And, there had been much bad feeling between City and County teachers. Furthermore, it can be said that teachers have tended to resist mergers of this sort across the country. Still, despite all this, most teachers voted for the merger, and a full time executive secretary was selected. This too was exceptional. Indeed, this was the first such appointment in the Southeast and one of only a dozen or so in the country.[103] The new teachers' group became a major voice for consolidation of the school districts and of the local governments.

A second point should be emphasized in terms of the relations between the schools and the merger movement. Although in law and in fact there were not legally distinct school systems for blacks and whites in Davidson County in 1961, in practice the two black systems were almost totally separated from the white ones. The first Director of the consolidated schools says, "What I found here was really four school systems: two Negro and two White."[104] One knowledgeable source emphasized that this is one of the most impressive elements of the successful merger. He insists that four quite distinct school districts had to be joined and that racial misunderstanding had to be resolved or at least temporarily set aside in order to achieve the unification.[105] This point seems particularly significant when comparing Nashville to other metropolitan systems. Nashville's successful merger is sometimes depreciated on the grounds that only two districts had to be united, but in an important sense, there were actually four.

One other part of the history of the merger as it relates to public education needs to be noted. The matter of whether the Board of Education was to be appointed or elected stimulated considerable controversy. There was, also, lengthy debate over the means to assure minority group representation on the Board of Education. But once these difficult matters were settled, the Charter Commission wisely did not attempt to set specific school policy. The Charter contained a brief section on education. It vested upon the Metropolitan Board of Education the following broad and general responsibilities.[106]

> To establish, operate and maintain an efficient and accredited consolidated school system . . . To employ . . . a working force . . . To maintain, acquire, develop, construct and preserve school property . . . To manage and safeguard school funds . . . To provide group insurance . . . for its employees . . . To purchase instructional apparatus . . . To provide textbooks free of charge . . . To hold regular monthly meetings . . . To preserve and continue all pension, tenure and retirement rights.

Clearly then, and right from the start, the Metro government did not intend to operate the schools. However, it is one thing to list these simply-stated duties, and it is something else to determine an equitable and efficient means for accomplishing them. The Charter, therefore, specified transitional provisions for the operation of the schools. That is, the Charter spelled out the means by which the two (or, in practice, four) school districts might be molded into an effective single school district under a newly created administrative structure. The means selected was to create a transitional board of education of nine members to function from August 1, 1962 until June 30, 1964. Three members were to be elected by the Davidson County School Board from among its members, three from the Nashville City School Board, and three distinguished citizens were specifically named in the Charter including the chairman designate. A generally-respected businessman, a black educational leader, and perhaps Nashville's most influential retired educator were thus appointed. The Charter carefully specified procedures for filling any vacancies on the board in the event of resignation or death. Broad representation on the transitional board was thus assured, even if one of the original appointees could not serve.

The transitional board was charged with the operation of the two school districts with the same powers and authorities previously held by the two boards. In every way other than having a single board the two districts were distinct—two superintendents, two sets of business procedures, two policies for personnel matters. Obviously, this was going to be no small task. It is difficult enough to try to make policy decisions for one school district.

In the words of the Charter, the specific responsibilities of the transitional board were:[107]

> During the transitional period the board shall cause a comprehensive survey to be made of the two school systems, to the end that, not later than July 1, 1964:
>
> (1) A complete consolidation of the physical properties thereof may be effected.
> (2) The consolidation of personnel and employees thereof may be effected.

> The transitional board shall also (i) seek applications for the position of director of schools and assemble information with respect to the applicants, which applications and information shall be submitted to the metropolitan board of education to the end that its permanent administration may be expedited; and (ii) prepare and submit to the mayor a budget for the scholastic year 1964-1965.
>
> Any fund to the credit of the board of education of the City of Nashville shall be transferred to the credit of the transitional board of education but shall be earmarked and used for the benefit of that portion of the public school system previously operated as city schools. Any fund to the credit of the Davidson County Board of Education shall be transferred to the credit of the transitional board, but shall be earmarked and used for the benefit of that portion of the public school system previously operated as county schools.

In short, the transitional board was to keep the schools going and to plan for the future. People with whom interviews were held seem to agree that the transitional board performed extraordinarily well.[108] One point that may have been a significant help to them was the fact that neither chief school officer had any expectation of becoming the new Director of the metropolitan schools. In any event, the chairman of the transitional board strongly recommends that other districts attempting mergers, at least ones of the size and scope of those in Davidson County, should have an arrangement whereby the new structure can be introduced over a period of a couple of years. An immediate jump from two (or four) districts to one would have, in his judgment, been unwise and might have jeopardized the entire consolidation effort.[109]

As required by the Charter, the transitional board employed a consulting firm, Educational Research Services, Inc., to do a study of the two school systems. The intent of the survey was to make a general appraisal of the schools and to develop guidelines for the improvement of educational opportunities. In September, 1963, A COMPREHENSIVE SURVEY OF THE METROPOLITAN SCHOOL SYSTEM OF NASHVILLE AND DAVIDSON COUNTY TENNESSEE, was published.[110] The major recommendations of this report—known as the Cornell Report after the project director, Francis G. Cornell—are included in abbreviated form in Table 8.

Table 8

Outline of the Recommendations of the Cornell Report, Nashville-Davidson County, 1963[110]

ADMINISTRATION

1. Increase administrative staff from 38 to approximately 100. (Specific job titles were suggested.)
2. Prepare job specifications.
3. Reduce or eliminate when possible "undesirable pressures and influences of groups and individuals upon the Board of Education and its administration."
4. Consolidate and strengthen two business and finance staffs and require greatly improved budgeting procedures of them.
5. Form three administrative branches—professional services, instruction and business affairs.
6. Divide the metro district into three sub-districts.
7. Develop data processing facilities.
8. Adopt a 6-3-3 system.
9. Greatly improve school-community communications and relations.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

1. Reduce class size to a maximum of 30. (One quarter of all elementary school classes were over 35.)
2. Establish a Curriculum Advisory Council with a full time staff to coordinate curriculum development and innovations.
3. Obtain "helping teachers," first at the ratio of one to 100 regular teachers, but finally at 1/50.
4. Make kindergartens available to all 5 year olds. (They existed only on experimental basis.)
5. Continue to expand TV use.
6. Make more and better instructional materials available including libraries.

SECONDARY SCHOOLS

1. Improve social studies program.
2. Expand fine arts program.
3. Expand opportunities for young people with "less-than-average academic motivation and promise."
4. Improve supply of instructional materials.
5. Improve in-service opportunities.
6. Improve measurement and record keeping procedures.
7. Reduce 40% drop out rate partly by making a diploma "within the reach of every student."
8. Make vocational-technical education available to all who want and need it through comprehensive high schools and a new community college. (Specific recommendations included work experiences and required education concerning occupations for all.)

SPECIAL EDUCATION

It was estimated that sixty percent of the children who need special education programs were not getting them, so many detailed recommendations were made.

PERSONNEL

1. Increase salaries.
2. Improve and standardize an unsound hodge-podge of pension and retirement plans.
3. Improve evaluation of professionals.
4. Increase clerical personnel by approximately 150 and eliminate the common practice of using professionals to do clerical tasks.

PHYSICAL PLANT

1. Build new facilities (urgently needed) and remodel and renovate existing structures.
2. Work closely with the Metro Planning Commission and the Metro Board of Parks and Recreation.

BUSINESS MANAGEMENT

1. Improve and standardize accounting procedures.
2. Centralize purchasing and warehousing.
3. Improve custodial services.
4. Obtain skilled workers so that most school building maintenance can be performed by school employees.
5. Improve and standardize transportation facilities and services.
6. Establish a soundly operated school lunch program.

The recommendations were based on the conviction that improvement was needed. During the transition period, numerous committees of professionals and laymen were established to study and make suggestions for dealing with the recommendations of the Cornell Report. (A later section of this report will deal with the success of implementing these suggestions.)

One of the most important acts of the transitional board was to screen candidates for the Director of Schools. They performed this service using external consultants. The new Board of Education for Nashville-Davidson County followed their advice.

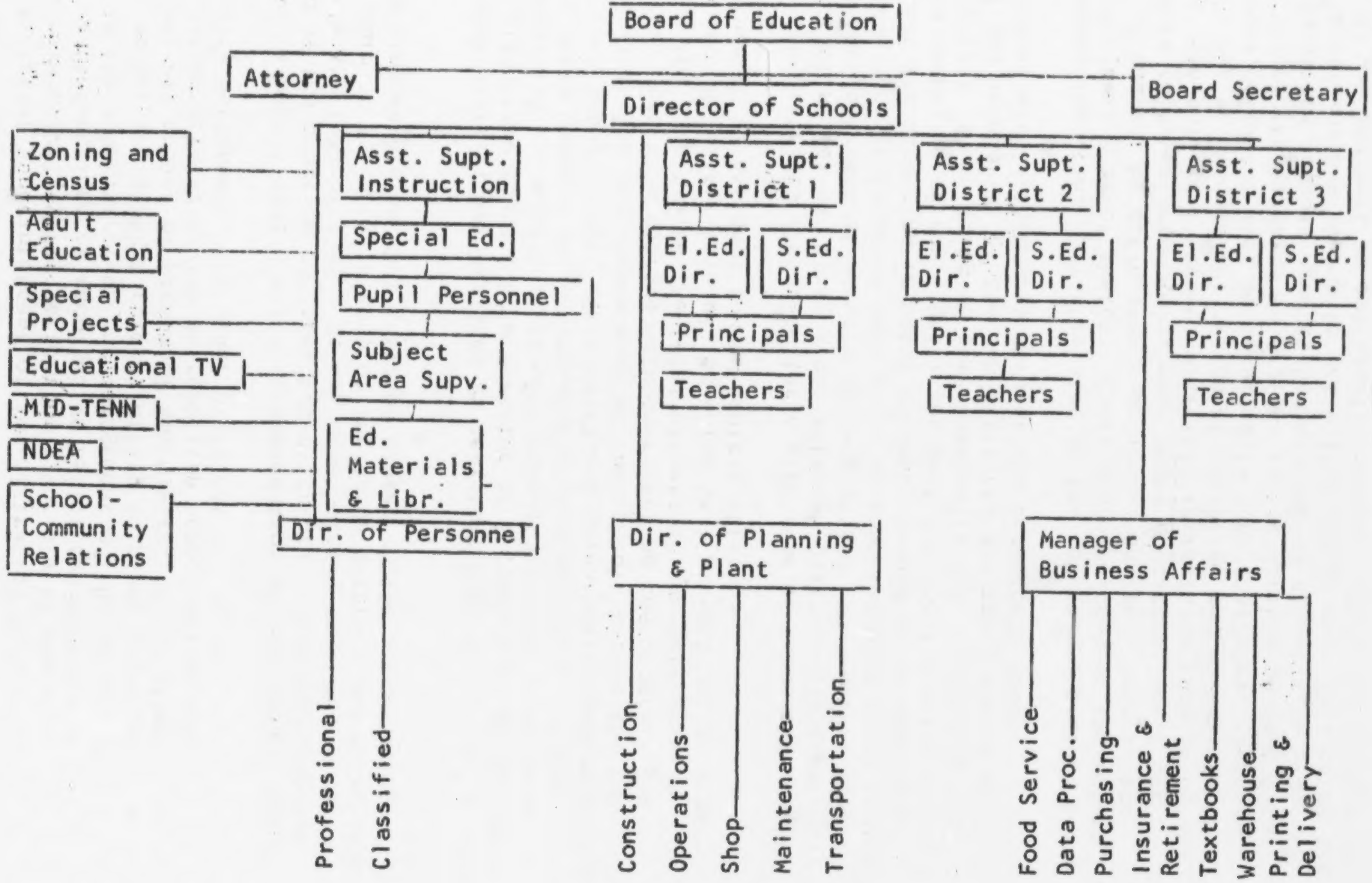
Governance of the Schools...The first Director of the Nashville-Davidson County schools was faced with many difficult decisions. Perhaps the most important of these concerned personnel. Considerable controversy had arisen in seeking a Director over whether he should be an "insider" or an "outsider." A man from another community was eventually selected. Once this decision was made, lay citizens and educational leaders became anxious concerning other appointments. Rivalries heated. Would the new Director select a City man or a County man for each new assignment? Or, would he go outside the District to pull in new people? Whatever decision he made was bound to make someone unhappy. As a result, the Director moved quite slowly. When he did make a personnel decision, he tried to balance appointments to include both former City and County school leaders. But of greater significance, he retained a great deal of the authority himself.

Gradually, changes were made, and in 1968-69 the administrative structure of the schools conformed to the scheme found in Table 9.

One important alteration was made in this administrative structure in the fall of 1969—a fifth assistant superintendent was added. A brief outline of the responsibilities of this position was provided by the incumbent.[111]

Table 9

Administrative Organization of Public Schools of Metropolitan Nashville-Davidson County, Tennessee


Board of Education
Attorney
Board Secretary
Director of Schools
Zoning and Census
Adult Education
Special Projects
Educational TV
MID-TENN
NDEA
School-Community Relations
Asst. Supt. Instruction
Special Ed.
Pupil Personnel
Subject Area Supv.
Ed. Materials & Libr.
Dir. of Personnel
Professional
Classified
Asst. Supt. District 1
El.Ed. Dir.
S.Ed. Dir.
Principals
Teachers
Asst. Supt. District 2
El.Ed. Dir.
S.Ed. Dir.
Principals
Teachers
Asst. Supt. District 3
El.Ed. Dir.
S.Ed. Dir.
Principals
Teachers
Dir. of Planning & Plant
Construction
Operations
Shop
Maintenance
Transportation
Manager of Business Affairs
Food Service
Data Proc.
Purchasing
Insurance & Retirement
Textbooks
Warehouse
Printing & Delivery

> The Assistant Superintendent of Administration is charged with the responsibility for performing a variety of administrative staff functions as required to assist the Director of Schools in the administration and management of the School System. He has the general responsibility to plan, organize, and conduct all phases of personnel administration and other administrative affairs of the Metropolitan School System not specifically assigned to the other Divisions . . .

Table 9 reveals that a major recommendation of the Cornell Report was followed by the creation of three sub-districts. This decision was implemented in the fall of 1967. It was made both in an effort to increase the administrative efficiency of the large district and to achieve a decision making mechanism that would be closer to the people being served.

To each district was assigned an assistant superintendent, a Director of Elementary Education, a Director of Secondary Education and a teacher-consultant. Additional teacher-consultants have since been added, e.g., three general elementary education consultants are now assigned to each sub-district. This staff was given basic responsibility for the administration and supervision of the schools within the sub-district. They were also charged with coordinating the programs and activities of their unit with the total efforts of the Metropolitan Public Schools. However, it should be noted that subject matter supervisors continue to be assigned to the central office.

The sub-districts are quite large with over 40 schools in each. Each cuts across racial and class lines although District III apparently has the greatest extremes of poverty and wealth.[112] This effort toward administrative decentralization should not be confused with local control movements that are occurring in other cities. Indeed no evidence was uncovered in Nashville of any significant push for local control although some leaders said it was going to come eventually.[113] Apparently the creation of the boundaries of the sub-districts and the division of staff responsibilities within them were made at the Director's level.

Another important matter related to the governance picture seems to require at least a brief sketch. Every school system in the United States is, of course, by definition a political entity. Despite the commonly heard talk, unfortunately, even among educators, about the values of a "non-political" school district, there is no such thing and there should not be. Given our system of operating and maintaining public schools, citizens must be involved in school affairs. Representatives have to be selected to provide lay leadership on educational matters. Funds for schools have to be obtained in competition with requests for other worthwhile public activities and so on. This being the case, schools are and must be political. However, while the authors of this study reject the plausibility or desirability of an apolitical school system, they believe it is highly significant to know how the schools are related to the local political structures.

The following are some of the interesting school-government relations in Nashville-Davidson County.

1. The School Board members are appointed by the Mayor for six year terms. He seeks nominations from many sources from both within and outside the geographic district to be served. (There are nine districts.) The Mayor's appointments must be confirmed by two thirds of the Council. This means, of course, that an indirect relation between the voters and the members of the School Board exists. On the other hand, each School Board member has a specific geographic constituency.

2. The Metro Planning Commission has a veto over the School Board on site locations and architectural plans for new and significantly remodeled buildings. Interviews with professional planners and school people indicated the existence of a close cooperative relation between the Planning Commission and the professional and lay leaders in education.[114]

3. The Metro Council must approve the fiscal plans of the School Board, both inputs and outputs. The Charter does contain a procedure that permits the School Board to go directly to the voters if it believes that the Council is treating the schools improperly. This provision has never been employed and several key observers think it is unlikely that it will ever be used.[115] They take this position because they believe that both bodies would recognize that such a confrontation between the Board and the Council woul be injurious to all concerned. Nevertheless the "threat" of being able to go directly to the people appears to be highly significant.

On the Metro Council there is a standing committee on education to serve a liaison role between the Board and the Council. Budget and other matters related to education are sent through this Committee. It has considerable influence, and from time to time depending largely on the nature of the Chairman of the group, the Committee has been troublesome for school leaders.[116] However, laymen and professions agreed that the Board, not the Council nor its Committee make most of the policy decisions related to education.

4. The School Board informally and voluntarily relates to other boards and agencies of the local government directly in some cases or indirectly through their staff. Apparently the ties with the Board of Health and with the Board of Parks and Recreation are particularly productive.[117]

Are political relations advantageous for the Metro schools? How do these relations compare with those in other big cities? Getting solid data on these questions proved difficult; however, sources available to these researchers claimed that the Metro schools were relatively free of undue political pressures. They said that the School Board operates quite independently of the local government except for the structural associations noted above. As a possible support for this assertion, it was determined that most school people who were consulted did not know the names of all the Councilmen who were serving on the Education Committee.

One more point on the governance of schools—everyone seems to agree that the late Director of the Metro schools was a forceful, energetic dynamic leader. He did not delegate much of his authority. He wanted to know everything that was happening throughout the district. Some argue that the success of the merger depended on such strong-willed aggressive leadership.[118]

Economics of the Schools...One of the central questions raised in this project was whether or not the educational opportunities of the metropolitan area were equitable and efficient in an economic sense. Are the children in the central-city educationally disadvantaged for economic reasons compared to children of more affluent neighborhoods? Are all Metro citizens getting their money's worth from their investments in education? How do Nashville's school compare with others economically? These issues will now be briefly considered.

There appears to be a widespread belief that metropolitanism in education has significantly contributed to equalizing educational opportunity in Nashville. Businessmen, political leaders, school administrators, and leaders of teacher associations with whom this research team talked all emphasized this assertion.[119]

Having a single school district as opposed to the multi-district arrangement found in most metropolitan areas has eliminated the variation in tax rates. There is no equalization problem nor multiple assessment issue. Likewise, the expenditures per pupil, the personnel salary scales, the effectiveness of obtaining external funding and all other economic indicators are applied equally to the total population unless the community through its School Board deliberately decides to give one segment of the pupil population favored treatment, e.g., greater amounts of transportation money to rural citizens or compensatory funds for residents of the inner city.

Also, one can argue, and some Nashville residents do, that many economies would almost necessarily follow from a single administrative structure, i.e., one collective bargaining unit so that "whip-lash settlements" are impossible; mass purchasing; reduced costs for top administration; central data processing, accounting and business procedures; reduction of overlap in program and facilities; and so on. It is not possible for us to document that each of these potential economies has actually been achieved, partly because there is no positive way of knowing what the costs of educational services would be if there had been no consolidation, and partly because of inflation. However, to repeat, everyone with whom an interview was conducted claimed economic advantages for education through the consolidated structure. Probably, if equality of educational opportunity is a sincere objective, it is impossible to overstate the importance of a single administrative unit from an economic point of view. Indeed in Metro Toronto, the federated Metro School Board has used fiscal powers exclusively to coordinate and to improve the entire school operation. This is the only power they really have.[120]

There are also a couple of comparative economic facts that should be mentioned. First, Nashville's teachers have the highest salary scale of any metropolitan area in Tennessee.[121] Actually, only one district in the State had a higher annual average salary in 1968-69 than Nashville-Davidson County and this was Oak Ridge which has very heavy federal funding.[122]

Second, Nashville expends more per pupil in average daily attendance than the other three metropolitan areas of the State, and only two districts in the State spend more. One of these is a very small system and the other is, again, Oak Ridge.[123]

These data regarding the economic advantages of metropolitan Nashville must, of course, be seen in their proper perspective. Tennessee is near the bottom of the list of states in nearly all indices associated with education. For example, only four states spent less per pupil in 1968-69.[124] Perhaps of greater significance, the State is in the lowest quartile in terms of the percent of personal income that is spent for public education.[125] Also, only seven states paid their teachers less in 1968-69 using "adjusted dollars" (purchasing power).[126] Just three states had a smaller percentage graduate from college in 1968-69, and, finally, residents of only two states completed fewer years of formal schooling in the same year.[127] Clearly, then, all of this says that Nashville's economic advantages are only in comparison to the rest of Tennessee and to parts of the Southeastern section of the United States and not to the rest of the country.

One other perspective on this situation needs to be provided. Although it comprises about three fourths of the regional population, Davidson County is, of course, only one of the political units included in the various definitions of the Nashville region.[128] When these broader definitions are used, Davidson dramatically stands alone in comparison with its neighbors. The core county is richer on every educational/economic indicator available to these researchers. In terms of expenditures per pupil, wealth behind each pupil, salaries for school personnel, availability of special curricula, percentages of fully certified teachers, and so forth, Davidson is way out in front of the more rural counties around it.[129] So, while within Davidson County many of the typical inequalities of educational opportunities have been eliminated, within the Nashville SMSA or the broad Metro Planning Region the economic inequalities are still markedly present. And, no evidence was uncovered of any particular local interest in this problem.

The Charter for the new government gives the Metropolitan School Board quite specific budget and fiscal powers. The most important of these are:

1. The Board prepares its own budget and submits it to the Metropolitan Council through the Director of Finance who is acting for the Mayor and, in turn, through the Education Committee of the Council.
2. As previously indicated, if the Council finally adopts an amended budget that is unacceptable to two thirds of the members of the School Board, the Board may go directly to the people through a referendum to raise an additional tax for schools.
3. Funds which are appropriated for the use of the school system can not be diverted from that use for any other purpose.
4. The Board of Education may transfer funds at any time within the major categories of its budget.

5. The Metropolitan Council may provide funds within its own general budget to the schools, or issue short-term loans for emergencies and temporary advances in order to insure an uninterrupted school session.

6. The new Board became the legal custodian of all school property from both districts, and it assumed all debts and other responsibilities. It was required to work with and obtain the support of the Planning Commission in the future development of physical property.

7. Provisions were made for a six year capital budget and building program. This program is reviewed and revised each school year.[130]

Cooperation and Coordination and the Schools...Several positive and negative examples of the coordination of educational resources have already been stated, but this section will be concentrated on the extent to which educational activities involving the public schools are coordinated both within the schools and among the various educative agencies. This section is most certainly not intended as a broad evaluation of this large complicated school system. What follows is only an enumeration of some of the positive and negative illustrations that were identified by one or more sources of significant cooperative interaction. Many vital aspects of the schools are not mentioned simply because none of the sources available to these researchers thought they were directly associated with coordinating educational resources.

The most important references for this section have been a pair of studies of the Nashville-Davidson County Schools entitled PROJECT PACE-SETTER and PROJECT PACE-SETTER + I YEAR (1968-1970). These studies were supported by the public schools and employed external consultants under the general supervision of the Dean of the College of Education at the University of Tennessee. The original effort was designed to:[131] "(1) document the major changes which have occurred in the Metropolitan Public Schools since 1964, (2) identify problems currently facing the school system, and (3) make recommendations . . . for further development and improvement." The second volume is a follow-up study of the first, i.e., an attempt to identify any progress that has been made on the original recommendations one year later. Here are the major recommendations from the PACE-SETTER study involving cooperation and/or coordination or the lack of them.

1. "A more coordinated curriculum guide or outline (grades K-12) is needed for use throughout the school system."[132] The main concern of this recommendation and the resultant activities seem to center on the continuing need to achieve generally accepted broad and specific goals for the instructional program. The study argues that there needs to be system-wide agreement on the curriculum or the intended learning outcomes.

This point is strongly supported by the League of Women Voters of Nashville-Davidson County. Further, they insist that a broadly based Curriculum Advisory Council should be instituted.[133] The Council would work with the Assistant Superintendent of Instruction and would have professional, lay and student representation. Its major function would be curriculum coordination. Our discussions with local educators supported this desire.

2. The need for educational research and development activities was emphasized with the argument that any system as large as Nashville-Davidson County had an unavoidable obligation to provide a portion of its resources for this purpose. A smaller district might have an excuse for doing little R & D, but not a large one.[134]

An interesting discussion of the system-wide Nashville Science Curriculum Laboratory was cited as one step in this direction, but there was no attempt to deny the need for more R & D activities.[135] Furthermore, there is a need for coordination of the activities of this sort that do exist.

3. The public schools have been cooperating for many years with the numerous church and private kindergartens in the community.[136] But a recommendation to develop a sound pre-school program as a part of public education has been made by numerous sources in Nashville including the PACE-SETTER.[137] Nashville has had only a very limited kindergarten program. Since two thirds of the five year olds in the country are enrolled in kindergartens, it is not surprising that many people in Nashville are getting impatient over the lack of early childhood opportunities.[138] At long last, some progress is being made, and, "The Director and the Staff envisage a full-fledged kindergarten within two or three years."[139] This is an area in which a coordinated attack should have been undertaken long ago.

4. PROJECT PACE SETTER has recommended smaller classes and more time for teachers to be involved in instructional planning.[140] This point is mentioned here because apparently there is wide variation among the schools of the district on these important variables. One of the significant reasons for the discrepancies among the schools appears to be that a good many schools including some high schools are inefficiently small.[141] Eliminating these small schools seems to be an urgent need. Obviously, however, there are always numerous serious political issues associated with "making big ones out of little ones." Achieving the cooperation of various groups in the community seems essential to reaching this goal.

5. The school study recommends that instructional grouping practices should not be used if they contribute to racial and class segregation within schools.[142] At least one leader of the black community in Nashville emphatically agrees, and he thinks that this continuing practice is one of many examples of the school district's lack of commitment to quality integrated education for all.[143] Further, the man believes most black citizens agree with him. The PACE SETTER study recognizes the need to involve community groups in the study of such practices. More will be said on relations with the poor and specifically with the black poor later.

6. In several strongly worded recommendations the study insists that more and better special education opportunities for emotionally, physically and intellectually handicapped children should be made available to all who need them.[144] The apparently inadequate special education facilities and programs that do exist are offered by each of the sub-districts without much general supervision or coordination. For

example, the League of Women Voters wants a system-wide program for early detection of learning disabilities.[145] PACE SETTER consultants agree.

7. On the subject of vocational education, recommendations from this survey include more work-study programs in conjunction with local employers, more cooperation with vocational and technical colleges, and greater focus on the actual man power needs of the local community and the State.[146] Implementing these changes would involve closer relations with employers and with other educational institutions. (This subject will be discussed more fully in the section of this report, "Other Educative Agencies.")

8. The PACE SETTER report was critical of the limited supply of instructional materials available. Again, there was a comment about the variation among the schools in the district. The question was raised, why are some schools far ahead of others in terms of the supply of instructional materials five years after the merger and what should be done about it? This appears to be a highly significant question.

9. "The consultants are of the opinion that the financing of the athletic program should be centralized in the same manner that the financing of the lunch-room program has been centralized . . . Decisions should reflect system-wide educational priorities."[147] Surprisingly enough, apparently there has been no central purchasing of athletic equipment, no standard financing plan, no agreements about safety and insurance arrangements connected with inter-school sports—each school is largely autonomous. However, a full time Athletic Director for the system was appointed in August, 1968, and some beginnings of coordination have been achieved since then.[148]

10. The Basic and General Adult Education programs were taken-to-task not because of the substance of the programs, but because of the failure to inform and cooperate with the appropriate individuals and agencies.[149] (This problem seems to be almost universal in the adult education field—now do you let the right people know about the available opportunities?) The PACE SETTER consultants also suggested that a means be found for coordinating the continuing education opportunities offered by a host of educative agencies.

11. There were at least four recommendations associated with upgrading school libraries.[150] That the schools are markedly different from one another was emphasized. Some schools have longer hours than others; some schools have more professional and non-professional help than others. These differences are not equitably based on the number of pupils served or on the special needs of the local group. Again, one of the problems is that some schools are just too small to warrant having an adequate library.[151]

12. The local educational television station is owned and operated by the School Board. This fact has eliminated a coordination problem that exists in many metropolitan communities. This is not to say that there weren't some suggestions made for improving educational television in Nashville—actually there were quite a few—but a major

problem for many communities has been removed.[152]

13. The PACE SETTER study commended the system-wide instructional materials center, but the point was made that the School Board needs to determine a clear policy on the future of centralization vs. decentralization of the supply of instructional materials.[153] The controversy seems to focus on the storage and handling of the materials rather than on purchasing them or managing the collection. Everyone seems to agree that these latter functions should be done centrally.

Other specific recommendations were made concerning the coordination of supplies and procedures related to instructional materials, e.g., data processing for textbook purchasing, requisitioning and inventorying and providing more central space for the warehousing of printed materials.[154]

14. A series of recommendations were made for increasing the pupil personnel services in the district and for making these services more equitably available to all.[155] Also, it was suggested that, "a plan for decentralizing P.P.S. staff teams should be developed and implemented."[156] Each team would include a school health nurse supplied by the Metro Department of Public Health. This practice would necessarily involve close relations with that Department.

Decentralization in this context appears simply to mean that these teams would work from a secondary school, rather than from the central office. Actually, the true motivation of the suggestion seems to be increasing the size of the staff rather than changing the administrative structure in any significant way.

Another emphasis in suggestions regarding the pupil personnel services was stated:

"Hopefully, close working relationships between and among school and community services can be continued and expanded so that existing services can be maximally available to children and their needs can be better understood by the community at large."[157] In response to this suggestion, school leaders emphasized the already existing productive relations with the Nashville Mental Health Center and with the University of Tennessee School of Social Work.[158]

15. "It is strongly recommended that clear descriptions of responsibilities and positions in the central administration be developed, particularly with reference to cooperative or coordinated responsibilities, and that realistic goals be set in relation to instruction by system-wide and area personnel."[159] Nearly all of the administrators of the Nashville schools interviewed in this study agreed with and called attention to this point.[160] There seems to be widespread support for the decentralized administrative structure with its three sub-districts, but there is also a lack of a clear perception of roles. The same feeling was expressed about positions in the sub-districts and, particularly, about "consultant teachers." School people and lay citizens alike are not clear about who does what, and this leads to a lack of coordination. This need for coordination and role definition within

the school system is clearly stated in another recommendation.[161]

> During the past four years, the primary efforts of administration have been directed toward unifying and stabilizing the school system. The time has now come for administrative leadership to give more attention to planning, coordinating, and systematically improving the newly unified programs. In particular, greater coordination must be maintained between the central office and the area school districts so that they will be mutually supportive and may progress together. Coordination among and within the three administrative areas also needs to be strengthened.

The reader is reminded that the first Director has been perceived by all who mentioned him as a very forceful leader. He retained much of the decision-making power in his own hands, both because of the jealousies involved in delegating powers in the emerging district and because of his personal style. This fact probably is associated with the coordination and role strain issues that exist today. Another possible factor is the fact that Nashville has a comparatively small administrative staff for a district of its size.

16. The PACE SETTER consultants question the "trend back to the system-wide approach to inservice education (for teachers)."[162] The school leaders responded by denying that this was a trend.[163] These writers uncovered no solid evidence one way or the other except that some interviewees indicated a need for both more inservice educational opportunities for teachers and more coordination of those that are available.[164] One school administrator said that he would give his highest priority among the various possible means for improving education in Nashville to a greatly improvied intensive inservice program for teachers and administrators.[165] However, as will be seen later, many respondents were pleased with the cooperative relations between the schools and the colleges on the matter of inservice education.

17. The Board of Education was commended by the PACE SETTER staff for its cooperative relations with the Metropolitan Nashville Education Association.[166] Interviews with school administrators, an Association leader, and Board members seemed to support this view.[167] Of course, there have been some strains, and as one key administrator put it, "Nashville is in an adolescent stage in professional negotiations."[168] The district has moved beyond the "father-knows-best" stage, but has not achieved truly equal bargaining positions for the Board and the Association. This same school leader said the central administration still thinks in terms of "round table negotiations" while the teachers are envisioning a "square table concept."[169]

It is rather interesting to note, however, that another high ranking school leader believes that communication among the staff is sadly deficient.[170] He thinks that vertical communication from the Director down is good, but not horizontal communication nor from lower to higher echelons. Clearly, then, mixed reactions were received in this area.

18. As we have seen, various units of the Metro Government work together. The PACE SETTER staff encouraged the development of even greater cooperation among these units. "Continued efforts to work closely with the Metropolitan Planning Commission and the Metropolitan Board of Parks and Recreation are recommended . . . [This] close relationship . . . continues to function as an outstanding example of cooperation . . ."[171] Numerous specific examples were offered, e.g., joint development of the Capital Improvement Budget; cooperative action in locating and developing gyms, shops, art rooms, playing fields, tennis courts, swimming pools. As noted elsewhere in this report, the Planning Commission has a veto over some actions of the School Board.

The Planning Commission and the Board of Parks and Recreation are only two of the many units of the Metro Government that seem to work closely with the schools. Harris, Hemberger and Goodnight offer the following illustrations.[172]

The Department of Finance assists in budget matters.

The Metropolitan Health Department cooperates with physical examinations, dental services, sewage and sanitation services for schools. A joint health committee composed of members of the boards of education and health operates.

The schools and the following named governmental units interact directly at both the planning and execution levels: the fire department, the police department, the employees benefit board, the welfare department and the department of public works. The especially valuable part of these relations is that the agencies plan together.

Several interviewees were asked to state specifically how frequently representatives of City Hall and the School Board worked together. One source reported that the Mayor and the now deceased Director of Schools had lengthy telephone conversations on the average of three times a week and that still today the Business Manager of the Schools and a counterpart in the local government have daily contacts.[173] The chairman of the Education Committee of the Council also is in regular contact with school officials.[174]

19. There were several recommendations offered by the PACE SETTER study concerning the need for improved business procedures.[175] There does not seem to be a need to discuss these suggestions here except to say that coordination and the resultant efficiency seems to have been the motivation for the recommendations.

The writers of this report were surprised at the lack of direct connection with other units of the Metro government in these business matters. The schools have their own data processing operation, transportation facilities, unique purchasing and warehousing operation, distinct accounting procedures, separate food services division, and own employment procedures for non-professional personnel. It would appear that these are ideal services and functions to be shared with other divisions of Metro government. However, no one with whom discussions were held, recommended the coordination of these functions.

Indeed, one highly placed governmental figure rejected the idea of combining these functions on the grounds that by so doing the desirable autonomy of the schools would be threatened.[176] He thought that even centralized purchasing would subject the schools to adverse political pressures.

20. The PACE SETTER staff recommended close relations with State, federal and private funding agencies to insure that Nashville gets all the external money possible. The school leaders responded that this was already happening and that Nashville is getting even more than its fair share of this support.[177] These researchers were unable to document this claim; but since Tennessee is well above the national median in terms of the percentage of funds for education coming from the federal government (11.9% Tennessee and 7.3% median for U.S.) and since Tennessee schools receive far less than the "average state" from local sources (39.4% in Tennessee and 51.9% in the average state), the statement seems highly plausible.[178]

21. The final recommendation of the PACE SETTER staff has to do with public information and relations. It's final sentence reads, "New avenues should be sought for involving parents and other citizens in the overall educative process of the Metropolitan Public Schools."[179]

The staff of the schools responded to this suggestion by stating some of the practices that were underway. They included:

The creation of a Department of Community Information and Public Relations with three full time professionals.

The release of at least one feature story for the newspapers each week.

The monthly publication and distribution of over 7,000 copies of NEWS AND VIEWS.

The establishment of a data bank of facts about the school district.

The creation of special radio and television programs.

The sending of letters of congratulations to students who earn some special recognition.

The creation of numerous lay advisory councils.

Despite all of this, communication with the public seems to remain a very difficult problem for the district. The League of Women Voters, for example, has recommended numerous steps to get the School Board closer to the people.[180]

As indicated earlier, one rather interesting and surprising aspect of community relations in Nashville appears to be the strength of the local and regional P.T.A.'s. In the experience of the writers this organization usually does not have much influence these days particularly in urban schools. However, four interviewees made a point of mentioning the power and importance of the Parent-Teacher Association both at school and district levels.[181]

Another point made in connection with public relations is that the schools should be more readily available for the use of community organizations.[182] Apparently most schools are closed most of the time except when the pupils are in class.

The last point from the PACE SETTER study leads to an additional illustration of cooperation and coordination (and the lack of same) that ought to be noted. A discussion of the public relations of any urban school system these days, inevitably leads to a consideration of the compensatory efforts being made for the poor and more specifically the black poor. This issue is particularly important when the subject of broader regionalization or metropolitanism is being discussed, because poor citizens have been among those who have resisted movements in this direction. That is, the ghetto dweller frequently realizes that he will dilute the already highly limited political power he has if he unites with the suburban resident. (As noted earlier, gaining the support of many leaders of the black community was a very impressive accomplishment of the advocates of Metro in Nashville.)

What do poor people think of Metro now? Are the schools working any better for them? If they could vote again, how would they decide? If they could advise their brothers in other cities facing reorganization, what would they say?

These questions are unanswerable at this time. There are too many unknowns, but some impressions are available.

Black and white community leaders and school people consistently told these researchers that the poor were dissatisfied with the Metro schools. They said that leaders of the poor were far more militant in their demands and far more openly critical of the schools (and of other elements of the local government) than they had been in the early sixties.[183] (Of course, local dissatisfaction can certainly be viewed as a positive force.)

One leader of black community groups was extremely critical of the Metro schools, and made the following points.[184]

Racial segregation in the schools has increased since 1962.[185]

The School Board has on numerous occasions in remodeling buildings, in developing zoning patterns, and in purchasing new sites contributed to racial separatism.[186]

Blacks and other poor citizens are not adequately represented in the Metro government, and the one black on the School Board does not speak for the majority of his race.[187]

County schools have been upgraded far more since the merger than have central-city schools.[188]

Some Title I funds have not been spent on the poor.[189]

Most blacks would not support Metro if they were asked to vote for it in 1970.

Of course, even if we assume that all of the above is true, it is still impossible to say how much better or worse conditions would have been if the two systems had remained separate. In any event, to repeat, no one with whom these researchers talked in Nashville was satisfied with existing provisions for meeting the educational needs of the urban poor.

It is true, however, there have been a good many compensatory efforts for the residents of the central city. A resumé of these projects includes the following.[190]

Seventeen compensatory components of the Title I (ESEA) program are entitled, "Project Higher Ground." Over four million dollars was spent on these efforts from 1965 through June of 1969.

These projects involve cooperation with private schools, colleges and universities, divisions of local government, museums, libraries, welfare agencies, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, employers and employment agencies, a community action group, orphanages and children's homes.

The 17 components include health and nutrition projects, use of para-professionals from the local community, special curricula, a clothing center, "cultural enrichment" efforts, development of special instructional materials, inservice training of staff, outdoor education, work-study experiences, early intervention programs, and bringing adult volunteers into the schools.

Annual allocations of $1.55 per pupil have been spent on instructional materials through Title II of ESEA. This project boasts of cooperation among the various schools and between the schools and the public library. Title II purchases are not just for the educationally disadvantaged, but they have had an impact on this segment of the population.

Approximately one-third of the funds of Project MID-TENN (Title III, ESEA) have been spent by the Metropolitan schools. Much of this money has gone to the central-city. (More will be said on Project MID-TENN later.)

The OEO funded Neighborhood Youth Corps has enrolled over 4,000 young people. They have served 54 public and private non-profit agencies in the community.

Project Opportunity has been in operation since 1964. It is designed to assist promising inner-city youngsters to get ready for and participate in higher education. A variety of institutions cooperate in this effort. The Ford and Danforth foundations support it.

The Nashville Education Improvement Project sponsored by the Ford Foundation serves an economically disadvantaged area of South Nashville. Nine components are included for pre-school through college-age youngsters. Numerous agencies are involved. There are extensive research and inservice training aspects of this college based project.

In addition to these compensatory programs, there have been well publicized attempts to increase racial integration of the faculty and students of the Metro schools.[191] The Coordinator of Special Projects in the Nashville Schools believes that desegregation has moved as quickly as it could have moved short of violent resistance.[192] While some would emphatically disagree, this is one of those untestable assertions. The League of Women Voters is one group that disagrees. It says,[193] "We recommend that the Board of Education, in carrying out its responsibility . . . (a) adopt an explicit policy to make significant integration the major criterion in site acquisition for future building plans, renovations, and zoning decisions, and (b) authorize a study to evaluate various ways to bring about the significant integration of Metro schools." The League also insists on the need for human relations workshops for the staff, and the augmentation of the existing plan for obtaining racial balance of all faculties.

Resolving the difficulties involved in separation is frequently listed as a major objective of metropolitanization of public education. In Nashville, it seems fair to say, that metropolitanism has not solved the problems. Further, the writers would have to admit that they saw no evidence that the merger per se has accomplished anything educationally for the poor that would not or could not have been done without the merger. Yet, the administrative framework is there. It should be easier to move teachers and students around. It is easier to get the wealthy suburbs to share in the costs of educating their less affluent fellow citizens. It is easier to combat isolated patches of racism in one part of the community. Further, who can say how much progress would have occurred if the consolidation had not taken place?

One final observation in this section on the cooperation and coordination of the programs of the Metro schools will be made. The Cornell Report which was summarized earlier suggested many items having to do with the need for coordination. The PACE SETTER study which has been cited extensively here had as one of its major goals to ascertain how much progress had been made toward the goals specified in the Cornell Report. The Director of Project PACE SETTER has this glowing summary comment.[194]

> It is the considered opinion of the consultants that the school system has experienced sound, aggressive leadership—the inadequacies and differences which existed in the former city and county systems have been overcome or ameliorated and a well-structured, unified, modern school system is emerging. Problems still exist, but with proper public support the Metropolitan Public Schools can be exemplary at a time when most large city or inner-city school systems are facing one crises after another.

This comment may be an overstatement, but these researchers agree that real progress has been made.

Higher Education

Overview...The Nashville-Davidson County area is a major national center of higher education. There are twelve colleges and universities listed in the COLLEGE BLUE BOOK, and there are numerous other non-accredited special purpose post high school institutions.[195] At least four other multi-purpose colleges are located in neighboring counties.

Table 10 provides some data on the twelve Davidson County institutions of higher education for the academic year 1969-70.

Table 10

Selected Data on the Colleges and Universities of Davidson County, Tennessee[196]

Institution	Control	Founding Date	Type	Student Enroll-ment June, 69	Full-Time Faculty
Aquinas Jr. College	Roman Catholic	1961	Coed	238	25
Belmont College	Southern Baptist	1951	Coed	1000	63
David Lipscomb College	Church of Christ	1891	Coed	2250	99
Fisk University	Independent	1806	Coed	1200	125
Free Will Baptist Bible College	Free Will Baptist	1942	Male	340	18
George Peabody College for Teachers	Independent	1875	Coed	1799	170
Meharry Medical College	Independent	1876	Coed	434	236
Scarritt College	Methodist	1892	Coed	129	25
Tennessee A & I State University	State	1909	Coed	4536	283
Trevecca Nazarene College	Nazarene	1901	NA	683	4242
University of Tennessee -Nashville	State	NA	Coed	1117	404
Vanderbilt	Independent	1873	Coed	5797	1185

The largest of the neighboring colleges is Middle Tennessee State University with a full time enrollment in 1969 of 9,289.[197]

Heald-Hobson Associates completed a detailed study of the potential for research development in Greater Nashville in 1969. This summary comment was made:[198]

> The situation in Nashville is almost unique for cities of similar size, with 12 institutions of higher learning located there. Each of these schools has its own distinctive character and each contributes to the Nashville educational complex in a unique way. The level of development of these institutions gives Nashville the intellectual resources that many other regions are so desperately seeking. These are not resources that can be developed overnight, nor can they be brought into being without great financial effort.

The Heald-Hobson report goes on to call specific attention to certain institutions. It describes Vanderbilt University as "ranking among the leading institutions of higher learning in the country."[199] The sciences are especially commended, and the School of Medicine is described as, "the most significant scientific resource in the entire

Nashville and middle Tennessee region."[200]

George Peabody College for Teachers with its John F. Kennedy Center, an institute for basic and applied research on human development, is recognized for its "long record of service to the community and leadership in education."[201] Research and development activities in the following areas are specifically identified: school surveys, atypical children, community studies, mental retardation, and learning resources.[202]

Fisk University is identified, particularly, for its "long and distinguished leadership in race relations and community service."[203]

Meharry Medical College is recognized for a variety of research activities, but is especially commended for its teaching functions. More than half of the black dentists and physicians practicing in the United States graduated from Meharry.

The Nashville branch of the University of Tennessee is recognized, particularly, for its Graduate School of Social Work.[204] Tennessee State University, being a predominately black institution, is singled out as a particularly likely location for upgrading of the skills of local black residents. The church related schools are also active partners in helping Nashville achieve the designation of a "university city" and as "a potential giant among the knowledge based cities of the United States."[205]

Cooperation and Coordination in Higher Education...The following are positive or negative examples of cooperation and coordination among the higher education institutions of Davidson County or between these colleges and universities and some other agency in the community. This is most definitely not intended as an evaluation of opportunities for higher education in Nashville, nor is this a complete list of cooperative efforts. It includes only those instances in which one or more sources reported significant interaction or failure to achieve such interaction.

There appears to be good cooperation between the Metro schools and the local colleges in the various student teaching and internship programs.[206] This seems noteworthy given the large number of local colleges engaged in teacher preparation, i.e., the public schools might well feel overwhelmed by the number of requests for student teaching assignments, but this does not seem to be the case. Also, the colleges might have developed a competitive stance for the limited number of assignments. Again, this apparently has not happened.

Similarly, there seem to be good relations between the public schools and the colleges and universities on the subject of the inservice education of the staff. The PACE SETTER study commended the colleges, specifically, for workshops for teachers of the disadvantaged, leadership institutes for school administrators, and courses in management and finance for school people connected with business procedures.[207]

To be sure, there were some references to the need for more inservice opportunities for teachers.[208] Also, there were some comments about the need for more coordination of the inservice programs available. Apparently there are some overlaps and some omissions of needed programs.[209]

One inservice program that was described with particular pride was a National Science Foundation-supported project involving Vanderbilt University and the Metro schools. In this effort a part-time staff member from the University is placed in a high school half time as a "change agent in residence."[210]

Another aspect of the cooperative relationships between the schools and local colleges appears to be in the area of providing special compensatory help for the educationally disadvantaged. Project Opportunity and the Nashville Education Improvement Project (NEIP) have previously been mentioned. One area educator took the position that NEIP was the first and most important research and development project to have an impact in Nashville.[211] Many community agencies are also involved in this effort.

Numerous examples of inter-college cooperation were uncovered. Perhaps the most significant has resulted in the Joint University Library, a facility shared between Vanderbilt, Peabody and Scarritt. The Heald-Hobson report calls this, "a model of what can be done to concentrate scarce resources."[212] A few other examples cited were: Tennessee State University and Middle Tennessee State exchange students and staff.[213] Vanderbilt and Peabody cooperate in providing certain courses, particularly professional offerings.[214] Through the Nashville University Center (N.U.C.) Fisk, Peabody, Scarritt, Meharry, Vanderbilt, the University of Tennessee, and Tennessee State cooperate in several important ways, e.g., some cross registration, free bus transportation among the schools, and a common calendar.[215] The N.U.C. program is particularly noteworthy because it involves both public and private institutions. Also, according to the appropriate college bulletins, some of the church related colleges are working closely together on staff and offerings.

There were also illustrations provided of a lack of cooperation among the colleges; indeed in some cases, of wasteful competition. The Heald-Hobson report makes this point forcefully when it says:[216]

> Fragmentation of the academic community is also a particularly acute problem. While Nashville has much to be proud of in its institutions of higher learning, we believe the lack of effective relationship to one another, and at times their competitive positions, are not in the best long-term interests of the City.

A conspicuous example of this disjointed approach to higher education was in the conflict between the University of Tennessee's Nashville branch and Tennessee State University. State, of course, was developed as the black publicly supported university. Now that forced segregation of this sort is no longer possible, there is a tremendous need to clarify the roles of the two institutions on other grounds. Almost everyone who spoke to these researchers about higher education in

Nashville mentioned this serious problem. One source saw the subject as a white racist plot against the black man.[217] Others perceived the situation as a classic example of complete failure to coordinate limited resources and facilities.[218] This problem seemed directly related to a general shortage of publicly supported higher education opportunities in Nashville, particularly, at either end of the continuum—junior college experiences and doctoral programs.

Another example of a need for coordination according to some observers is the competition between Peabody and Vanderbilt. Apparently there have been advocates of a merger of these institutions for years, partly as a means of relieving Peabody's deep financial trouble.[219] But, increasingly, Vanderbilt is offering professional work in education, and Peabody is providing courses in the arts and sciences.

There were a good many illustrations given of cooperative efforts between the colleges and various community agencies. Some of the more significant seem to be:

The Mid-South Regional Medical Program combining area governments, social agencies, hospitals, clinics and the Vanderbilt and Meharry medical schools.

The Center for Community Studies, the Field Services Office, and the Child Study Center—all at Peabody—and various affiliated agencies.

The annual Fisk Conference on Race Relations.

The Extension Center with such services as the Municipal Technical Advisory Services from the University of Tennessee.

The Urban Observatory Program—this is a cooperative effort involving institutional commitments from six area colleges, from 26 divisions of the local Metro government, from 10 units of the State Government and from 24 local civic, educational and economic associations. The major financial support has come from the Department of Housing and Urban Development (administered by the National League of Cities) and from Title I of the Higher Education Act (administered by the State of Tennessee).[220] The purpose of this large undertaking is specified in a letter from the Executive Director of the project.[221]

> Nashville and nine other cities have contracts with the National League of Cities to establish Urban Observatories. The unifying theme is an attempt to enlist academic research in the solution of urban problems while working in cooperation with the local Mayor's office. To date, we have made some progress in two national research items: (1) a study of citizens' attitudes toward local government; and (2) a study of citizen participation in local government. Results from both of these studies will be compared across the ten Urban Observatory cities and will be used to help local officials in policy-making decisions and also, hopefully, to establish programs of community education. Next year's national research agenda items will probably include a study of the projected needs for and sources of local tax revenues and a study of the economic and social consequences of public housing. Next year's agenda is, however, still tentative.

The project has already spawned three successful community Workshops to discuss various aspects of improving and coordinating human resources in Nashville. Local sources believe that this project is a very significant step in the right direction.[222]

But more needs to be done. Two pieces of documentation for this assertion will be offered in closing this section. First, the acting Director of Metro Schools at the time of the field visit, summarized his comments on the impressive school/college record of cooperation by saying, "We have just begun to work together."[223] And, finally, the Heald-Hobson report says:[224]

> What is most needed in Nashville at this time is the development of a creative partnership between education, business, and government. This partnership could provide the institutional framework in which individual responsibility, creativity and participation are feasible, and could result in the building of new bridges between Nashville's academic institutions and the rest of the community.

These observers believe that most of the cooperative efforts that now exist have been initiated by the institutions of higher education. Lower schools, businesses and government need to provide at least a comparable degree of effort.

Other Educative Agencies

Consistent with the stated objectives of this research project, attention will be given to educative agencies other than the public schools and higher education. Again, the focus will be on examples of cooperation or coordination of educational resources.

Project MID-TENN...This effort was a 41-County, cooperative approach. It was Tennessee's first Title III, ESEA, undertaking. The Director of the project called it:[225]

> A composite of cultural, experimental, supplemental, and demonstration programs designed for and operating in Middle Tennessee schools [both public and private] on a three-year federal grant to encourage creative, constructive changes for the improvement of education.

Thirty-nine county school systems, nine city and special districts, and two consolidated school systems including Nashville-Davidson plus the private schools of the region were involved. This means that approximately 300,000 school children were to be served. The Nashville-Davidson County school system was the fiscal agent. It also appears that the Metro schools provided much of the impetus.

The Executive Committee which provided the policy making leadership for the Project contained representatives of three colleges, two P.T.A. leaders, a person from the State Education Department and several laymen who also serve on local school boards, as well as public school educators. Nine full-time professional staff members were associated with the Project at the height of its operation.

During the planning period, it was agreed that two major needs were common to all or most of the schools of the region and that these problems could lend themselves to a cooperative coordinated attack. First, was the matter of "low pupil achievement of basic skills and comprehension of subject matter."[226] Second was a "dearth of cultural facilities and programs for pupils outside Metro Nashville."[227] 'Cultural' was defined in practice as meaning art, music, drama and environmental education.

Table 11 lists the major programs that were actually put into operation during the federally funded life of the MID-TENN project.

Table 11

Components of the MID-TENN Project[228]

Inservice Training Division

- Two Demonstration Junior High Schools—one in Nashville, one in Clarksville (Demonstration of newer practices in organization, teaching and curriculum)
- Two Demonstration Elementary Schools—both in Nashville (One school developed an unusual inservice education model, and the other was designed to demonstrate the impact of community involvement)
- Development of a Model for Inservice Education—Tullahoma, Tennessee (Opportunities for teachers to assess, develop and use new materials and techniques)
- Inservice Education Programs (Primarily workshops, traveling consultants and observations)
- Child Behavior Consultant (Primarily for rural and small schools)
- Learning Resources Center (Primarily 16mm. films for non-Metro schools)

Cultural Enrichment

- Scholarship Program (for gifted children in the arts)
- Children's Theatre (transportation of children from the hinterland to Nashville's Children Theatre)
- Art, Drama, Music Workshops (for teachers, both specialists in the arts and generalists)

Art Orientation (courses for teachers with the cooperation of Nashville museums)

Nashville Little Symphony (creation of a young peoples orchestra and school performances by the Nashville Symphony)

Children's Museum (creation of traveling exhibits, particularly, an environmental education, and visits to the permanent collections)

People associated with MID-TENN are modest about the effects of the Project. They readily point to the limited amount of "hard-data" evidence and to the difficulties of designing and executing appropriate evaluation exercises. However, on the basis of the available test data, on the results from questionnaires and interviews administered to a variety of involved individuals, on the favorable publicity both locally and nationally, and on the decision by hard pressed school districts to continue many of the projects at their own expense; the Project appears to have been successful.[229] One clear result of the Project which is of major significance to this study, is that MID-TENN involved a wide variety of public and private agencies, institutions, groups, associations and individuals.[230] Indeed, it seems fair to say that no other educational endeavor has ever obtained the voluntary cooperation of so many sources in central Tennessee. Furthermore, no negative reactions were received from any of the persons interviewed in this study. One final observation on MID-TENN—the degree to which private school children actually participated in the program seems limited.[231] The Director of the Project admitted that this was true, and was at a loss to explain it.[232]

Private and Special Schools...Except for nursery schools and kindergartens, Nashville seems to have far fewer independent and church related pre-college schools than is typical for metropolitan regions with a comparable population base. This is consistent with the fact that the State of Tennessee sends a very small percentage of its youth to private schools—3.9% in 65-66 compared to 13% for the U. S. Only nine states had smaller percentages enrolled in private schools.[233]

The Education Department of the State of Tennessee listed only three approved private elementary schools and two approved private high schools for the school year 1968-69 in Davidson County.[234] A commercially published directory of private schools lists the following:[235] David Lipscomb High School is a college preparatory day school supported by the Church of Christ with an enrollment of 252 boys and 261 girls in grades 7 - 12. The Ensworth School is a K-8 day school enrolling 238 boys and 213 girls. Father Ryan High School is supported by the Roman Catholic church and has 600 male students. The Montgomery Bell Academy, a college preparatory boys school, enrolls 436 pupils. Saint Cecilia Academy-at-Overbrook is a Roman Catholic day school enrolling 235 girls. Cathedral High School was named, but no other information was provided.

The Metropolitan Nashville Telephone Directory lists some other special purpose elementary and secondary schools, but no data were obtained regarding them.

No representative from any of the schools mentioned above was available for an interview at the time of the field visit. Letters were sent to all of the schools asking for descriptive materials and for evidence of cooperation with other educative agencies. Some printed materials were received; however, no documentation of cooperation or a lack of it was gleaned from these materials.

On the basis of the interviews with public school and college educators and with informed laymen in Nashville, and on the basis of printed materials received from the variety of projects and institutions identified in this report, the researchers are forced to conclude tentatively that very little cooperation with the private schools of the County takes place. Indeed, from the Acting Director of the Nashville-Davidson County Schools on down, interviewees seemed remarkably uninformed regarding the activities of the private schools. The research team received the distinct impression that the few private schools that exist are almost completely isolated from the other educative agencies of the area. (Some conflicting evidence on this point will be found in the final section of this chapter of the report.)

There are numerous private kindergartens and nursery schools in Davidson County—forty are listed in the Telephone Directory. As previously indicated, the public schools have been very slow to adopt a full scale kindergarten program. Partly as a result of this fact, local educators claim to be working closely with the private early childhood institutions.[236] As the public schools move more directly into pre-school programs, these relations may well be altered.

The State operates a special school in Nashville for dependent children, the Tennessee Preparatory School. It is distinct from the local public schools, but participates in the interscholastic athletic program. There are also an ungraded special school for children with mental health problems, several special institutions for children who have been adjudged delinquent, and the Tennessee School for the Blind in the Nashville region. All of these are operated by the State and all are separated from the regular schools.

Vocational Schools...The State of Tennessee operates a vocational-technical regional secondary school in Nashville, a more advanced technical institute (one of three in the State), and the Nashville Regional Office of the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation. There is also a Manpower Development Training program jointly administered by the Metro Schools and the State.

The Metro School System operates a special technical high school of its own. The district lists the following accomplishments in vocational education as of December 1969.[237]

a. The Cooperative Part-time Education Program has been expanded to include every senior high school in the Metropolitan Nashville system with the exception of Joelton. East Senior High has two programs, Hume-Fogg

Tech, three programs. There are now 840 students participating in the Co-op program, earning while they learn in Office Occupations, Trades and Industries, Distributive Education, VoAg and Health Occupations. Co-op students will earn well over one million dollars during the 1969-70 school year.

Projected for the 1970-71 school year are less restrictive work experience programs for over age underachievers who are potential dropouts. These programs would have been implemented in 1969-70 had funds been available.

b. Efforts have been made to acquaint guidance counselors with opportunities for worthwhile employment in the world of work through workshops, business and industry visitation programs and other means designed to broaden the counselors' knowledge of fields of work other than those involving the professions. There still is a need for counselors with background and experience in the world of work who are able to adequately advise the sixty percent of non-college-bound students as to preparation for meaningful employment and full citizenship.

c. The Hume-Fogg Technical High School has relaxed entrance requirements to accept many students who have not earned four full units of credit in the ninth grade. A "Laboratory of Industry" has been established whereby students are able to get exploratory experiences and remedial basic education which prepares them for entrance into a specific field of training.

d. The present vocational program is focused on local, State and national needs but is not broad enough to prepare for all needs.

However, the vocational education program has approximately doubled in offerings and enrollment since 1964 and projection for the next three years indicates that growth will again be doubled. Growth is evidenced in both program and facilities.

The vocational building at Pearl High School is being remodeled to provide a more effective vocational program and an addition to the Maplewood High School vocational building during 1969-70 provides 100 additional training stations. The McGavock comprehensive high school will almost double facilities in Metro for vocational education. The Rose Park comprehensive high school, which is on the drawing board, will greatly increase vocational education facilities in a community which needs them very much.

Program growth is shown by the following course additions:

(1) Cosmetology was initiated at Maplewood in 1967-68 providing vocational education for 50 students.
(2) Vocational Office Occupations was initiated at North High School in 1968-69, providing training for some 50 students.
(3) Data Processing was introduced at Hume-Fogg in 1967-68 and is fully operational with some 50 students.
(4) Urban Horticulture was initiated at Overton High School in 1967-68 and now is in full operation.
(5) Radio-TV Broadcasting is being initiated at Hume-Fogg in the Spring semester of 1970 and will be conducted with the full support of the Radio-TV Broadcast industry and the music production industry.

The Deputy Commissioner of Education in Tennessee reported that the State has been and continues to be a leader among the States in occupational education.[238] Nashville points to the achievements just enumerated with considerable pride. Most of these efforts involve cooperation with other agencies, businesses or labor organizations.

However, the following critical judgments were made:

The League of Women Voters wants more coordination of State and local programs and hopes that the programs will be determined on the basis of pupil needs rather than on other considerations.[239]

The Heald-Hobson Report was sharply critical of the local opportunities for vocational programs at the post high school level, and argues that Nashville is "far behind what is necessary and what is being done in other parts of the nation."[240] This survey argued that a public community college was badly needed in the region.

As previously indicated, the Metro schools do provide a "General Adult Education" program which makes use of the technical education facilities of the high school. The district also offers a tuition free "Basic Adult Education" program for students who have not completed the 8th grade.

Libraries...The Heald-Hobson Report calls the library resources of Davidson County good but not outstanding.[241] The public libraries of the County became a coordinated system with the advent of the Metro government. The entire community now shares the benefits and the costs of the system.[242] Public school libraries and the library system are also coordinated through the consolidated government, however, they still are competitors for public funds. The Director of the County Library System believes further cooperation is needed.[243]

The Community Rooms in the libraries served over 13,500 individuals through over 440 meetings of a wide range of local groups in 1968.[244]

There is a formal means of communication among area libraries through the Mid-Tennessee Association of Public, State, College and University Libraries. Regular meetings of the directors of these libraries are held, and a joint catalog system is being developed.[245]

The Director of the Metro Library was very enthusiastic about the advent of Metropolitan government in Nashville. Both in comparison with pre-Metro times and with other cities of Nashville's size, he believes consolidation has demonstrated its value.[246] Of course, this support for Metro is not intended to suggest that he is satisfied with the libraries of the region. Clearly, this is not the case.

Others...Throughout the pages of this report other educative agencies and institutions in Nashville—museums, educational television, centers for the arts, newspapers, and so forth—have been mentioned in some connection with public schools and higher education. It seems fair to say that all of these that are publicly supported are more involved with other agencies interested in education than they would have been without the development of Metro. A single local government almost insures such interaction.

Furthermore, the public relations releases from at least 23 divisions of the Metro government emphasize their high degree of cooperation with public and private organizations who are interested in the development of human resources in the Metro area.[247] These groups include the Fair Grounds, the Youth Employment Service, the Police and Fire Departments, the School Mothers Patrol, the Welfare Commission, public health care agencies, the courts, the Model Cities agency, and so forth. It is not surprising that these agencies emphasize cooperation, because such an emphasis is "good politics" in Nashville. That is, governmental officials and the public seem to expect it. No one claims that all coordination problems have been resolved, but these agencies seem to be basically interested in cooperative efforts and this appears to be a highly encouraging sign.

Results of Questionnaires

In order to try to obtain the opinions of a broader sample of Nashville residents concerning the degree of cooperation that exists among the various educative agencies, a questionnaire was administered to a group of 63 community leaders and another slightly revised instrument was mailed to a randomly selected 25% sample of school principals in Nashville-Davidson County. Copies of the questionnaires are located in the Appendix of this report.

The 63 community leaders included all persons identified by any interviewee as being an "informed source," plus the "executive officers" of all social, religious, political, and service organizations listed in the Yellow Pages of the Metropolitan Nashville Telephone Directory. Twenty-eight completed questionnaires were returned in usable form. (Two blank forms were returned.) This means that approximately 44% of the community leaders responded.

Table 12 indicates the percentages of responses to the question: How would you characterize the relations among those interested in education who are mentioned below?

Table 12

Attitudes of Community Leaders in Nashville-Davidson County Toward Relations Among Selected Educational Institutions

Relations between parents and the schools their children attend?

excellent	4%
good	62%
none	8%
poor	23%
no response	4%

Relations among the various public schools in the district?

excellent	8%
good	50%
none	12%
poor	12%
no response	19%

Relations between public schools and private schools?

excellent	11%
good	22%
none	26%
poor	19%
no response	22%

Relations between public schools and colleges and universities?

excellent	28%
good	44%
none	12%
poor	8%
no response	8%

Relations between public schools and the mass media?

excellent	12%
good	69%
none	0%
poor	19%
no response	0%

Relations between public schools and local governmental authorities?

excellent	12%
good	62%
none	0%
poor	27%
no response	0%

Relations between public schools, and the most important (respondent's judgment) community groups interested in education?

excellent	15%
good	50%
none	4%
poor	23%
no response	8%

These data suggest that the leaders of community groups in Nashville are markedly pleased with the interactions among these selected educative agencies. Except for the relations between public and private schools, a majority of those responding think the dealings among the various agencies are good or excellent.

Further, it should be noted that 48% of the respondents believe that they are well informed concerning the goals and activities of the local public schools, and only 7% rate themselves as being poorly informed.

Finally, the instrument contained some open-ended items including the request that the respondent list the most significant example of cooperation among educational institutions in the community. Two facts stand out in connection with this item. First, there was almost no agreement among those responding; and, second, most respondents did have a recommendation.

The following examples were selected:

Public schools and Peabody College in research projects and in teacher training.

The public schools and the Boy Scouts.

Consortium of area colleges—the University Center.

Reaction of all educative agencies to the Federal Court order to achieve racial integration of schools.

Public and private schools through the sports program.

All schools through the annual Essay Contest.

Schools and service clubs, e.g., through the camping program.

Public schools and Vanderbilt University.

Schools and industries, specifically Werthan Bag, Avco, and Ford Glass.

University of Tennessee and the Metro Schools by providing the Leadership Training Course.

Coordination provided by the Kennedy Center at Peabody College.

Cooperative spirit in the volunteer tutorial program.

Public schools and Vanderbilt University, specifically in the "Upward Bound" program.

All schools through the "Science Fair."

Cooperation of all professional personnel through the Metropolitan Nashville Education Association. (This response came from a layman, not a teacher.)

Coordination provided by the Metro government.

All educationally minded groups and agencies through the Urban Observatory.

"MID-TENN provides the best coordination."

Twelve of the 33 school principals queried responded for a disappointing return of 36 percent. The twelve were decidedly positive in their assessment of the interactions among the educative agencies of Nashville. Three principals out of twelve thought that relations between private and public schools were generally poor, but in every other instance, the principals thought relations ranged from good to excellent. Even in the case of public and private schools, three-fourths of the principals thought the relations were good. This reaction is not consistent with the data reported earlier.

The principals listed the following as the most significant instances of cooperation among educational groups and agencies:

P.T.A. leadership.
Universities donating free tickets to high school students for many sorts of offerings.
Public schools and Peabody College.
"Exchange of Pupil Information" (No one was able to explain this response to the researchers.)
Student Teacher Programs.
Sports programs.
Men's Club.

Looking at the results from both questionnaires, one cannot escape the conclusion that these respondents are enthusiastic about the interaction among the selected educational agencies.

So much for Nashville, a metropolitan area that has achieved legal consolidation. Some summary comments will be provided in the final section of this report, following a discussion of the findings in Hartford.

Notes—Findings in Nashville

1. POPULATION, LABOR FORCE AND INCOME TRENDS IN THE NASHVILLE AREA, Research and Statistics Section, State of Tennessee, August, 1967, p. 1.

2. AN EXAMINATION OF DATA AND CONDITIONS IMPORTANT TO THE DEFINITION OF A MIDDLE TENNESSEE METROPOLITAN PLANNING REGION, Metropolitan Planning Commission, 1965, p. 16.

3. NASHVILLE-DAVIDSON COUNTY AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT PATTERNS, Metropolitan Planning Commission, June, 1968, p. 3.

4. Ibid., p. 4.

5. Bogue, Donald J. and Calvin L. Beale, ECONOMIC AREAS OF THE UNITED STATES, Free Press, 1961, p. 252.

6. See, for example, Shaw, Earl B. and Jameson MacFarland, ANGLO-AMERICA: A REGIONAL GEOGRAPHY, Wiley, 1959, p. 241.

7. Havighurst, Robert, Ed., METROPOLITANISM—ITS CHALLENGES TO EDUCATION, N.S.S.E. Yearbook, University of Chicago Press, 1968, p. 359.

8. NASHVILLE-DAVIDSON COUNTY, p. 16.

9. Ibid., pps. 17 and 18.

10. Shaw, p. 242.

11. ANALYSIS AND PROJECTION OF POPULATION AND EMPLOYMENT TRENDS IN NASHVILLE-DAVIDSON COUNTY AND THE METROPOLITAN REGION, Metropolitan Planning Commission, 1969, p. 148.

12. Ibid.

13. POPULATION, p. 1.

14. Hastings, Iliana and Wendell G. Lorang, Eds., 1969 METROPOLITAN AREA ANNUAL, Graduate School of Public Affairs, State University of New York at Albany, 1969, p. 40.

15. PROVISIONAL ESTIMATES OF THE POPULATION OF 100 LARGE METROPOLITAN AREAS: July 1, 1967, U. S. Department of Commerce, 1968.

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17. Hodge, Patricia L. and Philip M. Hauser, THE CHALLENGE OF AMERICA'S METROPOLITAN POPULATION OUTLOOK, 1960 to 1985, Praeger, 1968, p. 16.

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42. DID YOU KNOW THAT NASHVILLE?, p. 4.

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48. NASHVILLE-DAVIDSON COUNTY, p. 53.

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147. Ibid.

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149. Ibid.

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151. Ibid.

152. Ibid.

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154. Ibid.

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157. Ibid.

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160. For example, interviews with Linton Deck, Charles Frazier, W. H. Patterson, G. H. Waters and Wm. K. Wright, June 1 and 2, 1970.

161. PROJECT PACE SETTER + I YEAR, pages unnumbered.

162. Ibid.

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165. Interviews with M. D. Neeley, June 1, 1970.

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171. PROJECT PACE SETTER + I YEAR, pages unnumbered.

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173. Interview with Robert Horton, June 1, 1970.

174. Interview with Charles Frazier, June 1, 1970.

175. PROJECT PACE SETTER + I YEAR, pages unnumbered.

176. Interview with Robert Horton, June 1, 1970.

177. PROJECT PACE SETTER + I YEAR, pages unnumbered.

178. DIGEST OF EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS, p. 49.

179. PROJECT PACE SETTER + I YEAR, pages unnumbered.

180. LOCAL PROGRAM, p. 1.

181. Interviews with Robert Horton, Charles Frazier, Dick Battle, and Molly Todd, June 1 and 2, 1970.

182. LOCAL PROGRAM, p. 2.

183. For example, interviews with M. D. Neeley, Mollie Todd, Charles Frazier, June 1 and 2, 1970.

184. Interview with Edwin Mitchell, June 2, 1970.

185. No specific pre and post-merger data for Nashville were available, but the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights indicated that in 1966 better than 90% of the white students attended schools that were 90-100% white and that 83% of non-whites attended schools that were 90 to 100% black. It also indicated that more than 98% of the black teachers in Nashville taught in schools that were 90-100% black. See RACIAL ISOLATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS, pps. 3 and 9, 1967. Also, it should be noted that only six of the 100 largest school districts of the country with equal or smaller percentages of Negroes had a higher percentage of blacks attending 100% black schools in 1968 (51%). See HEW Newsletter, January, 1970.

186. The Chairman of the School Board denied this assertion.

187. A similar comment came from two school officials who requested that they not be quoted on this point.

188. Reiterated in the interview with Charles Frazier, June 1, 1970.

189. No specific data on Nashville were uncovered, but the NAACP study Title I of ESEA - IS IT HELPING POOR CHILDREN?, revised in 1969, has documented that Title I funds are frequently used for illegal purposes.

190. RESUMÉ - SPECIAL PROJECTS - CENTRAL CITY COMPENSATORY EFFORTS, mimeographed, Metro Schools, 1969.

191. Numerous articles on this subject have appeared in both metropolitan newspapers.

192. Interview with M. D. Neeley, June 1, 1970.

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199. Ibid., p. 30.

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203. Ibid., p. 37.

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205. Ibid.

206. Interviews with Leonard Beach, Charles Frazier, Henry Hill and A. P. Torrence, June 1 and 2, 1970. The cooperative spirit was also emphasized in the literature on teacher education in the various college catalogs.

207. PACE SETTER + I YEAR, recommendations 28, 38, 52, and 56.

208. For example, see LOCAL PROGRAM - EDUCATION - CONSENSUS published by the League of Women Voters.

209. Interviews with W. D. Neeley and Leonard Beach, June 1 and 2, 1970.

210. Interview with Leonard Beach, June 2, 1970.

211. Interview with G. W. Waters, June 2, 1970.

212. PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE, p. 39.

213. Interview with A. P. Torrence, June 2, 1970.

214. Interview with L. Beach, June 2, 1970.

215. Letter from Nicholas Sievering, July 22, 1970.

216. PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE, p. 44.

217. Interview with Edwin Mitchell, June 1, 1970.

218. PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE, p. 45.

219. Interview with L. Beach, June 1, 1970.

220. URBAN OBSERVATORY PROGRESS REPORT, March, 1970.

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222. For example, the interview with Robert Bogen, June 1, 1970.

223. Interview with Charles Frazier, June 1, 1970.

224. PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE, p. 55.

225. SUMMARY, PROJECT MID-TENN, 1970, p. 1.

226. Ibid., p. 8.

227. Ibid.

228. Ibid., pps. 9-80.

229. Ibid., interview with Robert G. Neil, June 2, 1970 and newspaper clipping file.

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233. STATISTICS OF NON-PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS, 1965-66, H.E.W., 1968, p. 8.

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239. LOCAL PROGRAMS, p. 1.

240. PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE, p. 50.

241. Ibid., p. 39.

242. FACT SHEET - METROPOLITAN PUBLIC LIBRARY SYSTEM, March 1, 1969.

243. Interview with David Marshall, June 1, 1970.

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FINDINGS IN HARTFORD

Setting

Area...A persistent and ever-present problem when thinking about regional cooperation and coordination is the uncertainty and confusion that exists over regional boundaries. Consistently, when one speaks of the Hartford Region, there is little, if any, agreement about what geography is included. Three of the most commonly used definitions for the region will be provided here, and the writers will attempt to label clearly future references to the region using one of these definitions.

First, there is the Hartford Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area. It contains parts of three counties—21 towns in Hartford County, one town in Middlesex County, and five towns in Tolland.[1] (The Census Bureau does not use the county structure in New England as it does in the rest of the country for determining SMSA's, because the towns are so much more important as governmental units in the six states of New England than are counties. Indeed, in Connecticut, the eight counties have no appreciable political significance.)

Secondly, there is the Capitol Region with its planning body, the Capitol Region Planning Agency. CRPA was created by the Connecticut Development Commission under State law and its region includes 29 towns in north-central Connecticut. Parts of Hartford and Tolland counties are encompassed. Three towns that are not a part of the Hartford SMSA are in the Capitol Region, and two towns that are in the SMSA are not under the CRPA.[2] (CRPA is an important form of regionalism and will be discussed in some detail in a later section of this chapter.) So, while the Hartford SMSA and CRPA are similar in area, they are not identical.

Finally, there is the Hartford Metropolitan State Economic Area. The federal government determines the boundaries of the SEA's. State lines are never crossed, and counties are not divided in these determinations. Apparently, the only justification for this definition is that statistical data are frequently only available for states and counties. If the SEA's did not exist, quantified comparisons between much of New England and the rest of the country would be very difficult to make.[3]

In the case of the Hartford SEA, only one county, of the same name, is included. Hartford County, as noted, no longer has any real political significance, but it does provide a category for reporting data. Like the Capitol Region it contains 29 towns, but, in this instance, the 29 towns include two central cities, the cores of two SMSA's, and the population centers of two Connecticut Planning Regions, i.e., Hartford or the Capitol Region and New Britain or the Central Connecticut Region.

It would be less confusing if the SEA definition for the region could be ignored in this report. Also, it seems to be true that although the city of New Britain is only two miles distant from the city of Hartford, the two regions are rather distinct. Professional planners associated with both State and national governments have regarded them to be quite separate. However, the definition can not be totally ignored here because some necessary data are only available on a county-wide basis. Whenever possible, New Britain will not be included in the findings that follow.

Both the Capitol Region and the Hartford SMSA are roughly square-shaped with twenty-five mile borders. The area straddles the Connecticut River from the Massachusetts line in the north to the middle of the State of Connecticut on the south. The square is in the center of the State on the east-west axis, so this region is the north-central section of the State. Hartford, with only 672 square miles, is one of the smallest SMSA's in the United States. Only ten of the 119 SMSA's with more than a quarter-million residents are smaller in area, and, as would be expected, most of these are also in New England.[4] Smallness and compactness are distinguishing and highly significant features of the regions of southern New England. This is, after all, megalopolitan land. Finally, on this point of the relative size of the region, it should be noted that this area is large by Connecticut standards since it contains nearly a sixth of the State.

The Connecticut River is by far the most important geographic feature and almost all of the locale is a part of the broad fertile river valley. The River plays a formidable role in sub-dividing the area. On the east-west edges of the region the land begins to climb into the New England Highlands. The City of Hartford is located in the south-east portion of the SMSA.

Climate...The greater Hartford area lies within the cold, hard-winter, cool-summer, humid New England area. However, the river valley character provides a tempering effect. Also, being in the Southern portion of New England and only a short distance from Long Island Sound helps to provide a longer growing season (an average of 138 days)[5] and, generally, a more comfortable environment compared to New England as a whole. The average annual precipitation rate is more than 40 inches including over 55 inches of snow.[6] The climate, then, hardly serves as a tourist attraction, but neither does it seem to be adversely related to the region's economic growth and development.

Population...The official Census Bureau population of the Capitol Region in 1970 was 669,907.[7] Table 13 shows the comparative figures for the towns.

Table 13

1960 and 1970 Populations—Towns of the Capitol Region[8]

	Number of Persons		Change: 1960-1970	
	1960	1970	Number	Percent
Andover	1,771	2,099	328	18.5%
Avon	5,273	8,352	3,079	58.4
Bloomfield	13,613	18,301	4,688	34.4
Bolton	2,933	3,691	758	25.8
Canton	4,783	6,868	2,085	43.6
East Granby	2,434	3,532	1,098	45.1
East Hartford	43,977	57,583	13,606	30.9
East Windsor	7,500	8,513	1,013	13.5
Ellington	5,580	7,707	2,127	38.1
Enfield	31,464	46,189	14,725	46.8
Farmington	10,813	14,390	3,577	33.1
Glastonbury	14,497	20,651	6,154	42.5
Granby	4,968	6,150	1,182	23.8
Hartford	162,178	158,017	(-4,161)	(-2.6)
Hebron	1,819	3,815	1,996	109.7
Manchester	42,102	47,994	5,892	14.0
Marlborough	1,961	2,991	1,030	52.5
Newington	17,664	26,037	8,373	47.4
Rocky Hill	7,404	11,103	3,699	50.0
Simsbury	10,138	17,475	7,337	72.4
Somers	3,702	6,893	3,191	86.2
South Windsor	9,460	15,553	6,093	64.4
Suffield	6,779	8,634	1,855	27.4
Tolland	2,950	7,857	4,907	166.3
Vernon	16,961	27,237	10,276	60.6
West Hartford	62,382	68,031	5,649	9.1
Wethersfield	20,561	26,662	6,101	29.7
Windsor	19,467	22,502	3,035	15.6
Windsor Locks	11,411	15,080	3,669	32.1
CAPITOL REGION	546,545	669,907	123,362	22.6%

Using Hartford County (SEA) as the base, The Bureau of Census places the area as the 40th largest district in terms of population in the United States.[9] Only Boston is larger in the New England section of the country.

During the period from 1950-1960 the Capitol Region grew by 30.7% which was impressively larger than the 26.3% growth for the State of Connecticut as a whole. However, from 1960-70 the rate of growth was reduced to 22.6% which was much closer to the average for the State.[10] As is typical for most of the central cities of the country, the City of Hartford had a decline in population—from 177,397 in 1950 to 158,017 in 1970.[11] All other towns in Hartford County showed an increase.

Two other observations drawing on the data in Table 13 should be made. First, the City of Hartford comprises a smaller fraction of the total population of the region (less than a quarter) than is true of most central cities. Second, several of the suburban towns are actually good sized cities. Indeed, East Hartford and West Hartford are over the 50,000 point used by the Bureau of the Census to determine potential central cities and Manchester and Enfield are very close to this status. These unusual divisions of the total population should be kept in mind as particular examples of regional activity are cited.

Continued rapid growth is projected for the greater Hartford area. Connecticut has grown faster than the average for the rest of the United States or for the average of the remainder of New England. This comparative rate of growth is expected to continue until at least 1980, the latest date for which projections of this sort were located.[12] And, Hartford is expected to continue to grow faster than the average SMSA in the United States—61% increase for Hartford from 1960-1985 and 57% for the average SMSA.[13]

Connecticut is a densely populated state; only three states are more dense.[14] Only two of Connecticut's eight counties are more densely populated than is Hartford.[15] However, within Hartford County the range in density is wide with more than 9,500 persons per square mile in the town of Hartford and fewer than 40 per square mile in Hartland.[16] With a few exceptions, the farther one gets from the central city, the less the density.

Only 4.7% of the population were other than white in Hartford County in 1960.[17] Blacks came to Hartford, specifically, and to Connecticut, generally, later than they entered other northern industrial areas. However the nonwhite population doubled in the city during the 1950's and the same thing has happened in the 1960's.[18] A substantial immigration of Puerto Ricans began in the early 60's and continues to the present.[19] Nearly all blacks and Puerto Ricans living in the SMSA are concentrated in the City of Hartford and to a much lesser degree in two other contiguous towns. Within the City the nonwhite population is heavily congregated in a 150 block ghetto in North Hartford. At least a quarter of the population of the City is now black.[20]

Similarly, most demographic patterns seem to mirror developments in the other metropolitan centers of the United States as specified in the introductory chapter of this report. To cite one example, the growth in the percentage of the total population of the elderly in the central city is pronounced.[21] In short, there do not seem to be any other distinguishing demographic features that should be reported here.

Economy...Connecticut is a rich state—it ranks first among the states in the ratio of skilled workers to total workers, first in percentage of the population who own stock, first in per capita personal income, first in per capita value added by manufacturing, second in per capita effective buying income.[22] The State's location places it at the heart of the industrial northeast. The Connecticut Development Association boasts of the "key strategic location" in terms of consumer markets, industrial and production markets, export and distribution markets and facilities both national and international.[23]

The sources of personal income for the State are indicated in Table 14.

Table 14

Personal Income in Connecticut by Major Sources, 1968[24]
(millions of dollars)

		% of Total 1968	
	1968	Conn.	U.S.
Personal Income	12,611	100.0	100.0
SOURCES			
Wage and salary disbursements	8,592	68.2	67.4
Farms	22	0.2	0.4
Mining	8	0.1	0.7
Contract construction	477	3.8	3.9
Manufacturing	3,840	30.4	21.3
Wholesale and retail trade	1,234	9.8	11.0
Finance, insurance and real estate	488	3.9	3.4
Banking	107		
Other finance, insurance and real estate	382		
Transportation, communications & public utilities	441	3.5	5.0
Railroads	48		
Highway freight and warehousing	107		
Other transportation	61		
Communications and public utilities	225		
Services	998	7.9	8.2
Hotels and other lodging places	28		
Personal services and private households	162		
Business and repair services	190		
Amusement and recreation	40		
Professional, social and related services	578		
Government	1,067	8.5	13.4
Federal, civilian	161		
Federal, military	88		
State and local	818		
Other industries	18	0.1	0.1
Other labor income	509	4.0	3.5
Proprietors, income	940	7.5	9.3
Farm	48	0.4	2.1
Non-farm	893	7.1	7.2
Property income	2,098	16.6	14.4
Other personal income	471	3.7	5.4

Details will not necessarily add to totals due to rounding.
Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Survey of Current Business, August 1969

The most important industries of Connecticut ranked in order of the value added by manufacture in 1966 were: (1) transportation equipment; (2) machinery, except electrical; (3) electrical machinery; (4) fabricated metal products; (5) chemicals and allied products; (6) instruments and allied products; (7) food and kindred products; (8) printing and publishing; (9) rubber and plastic products; (10) ordnance and accessories; (11) textiles; (12) stone, clay and glass; (13) paper and allied products; and (14) apparel and related products.[25]

The unemployment rate for the State was 3.7% of the work force in 1968 compared to 3.6% for the United States and 4.1% in neighboring Massachusetts, 3.6% in Rhode Island, 3.5% in New York.[26]

How does the Hartford area compare with the rest of this prosperous State on these economic indicators? Generally, it stands up quite well. For example, Hartford is first among the eight counties of the State in terms of per capita retail sales and it should be noted that this comparison includes Fairfield County, one of the wealthy "bedrooms" of New York City.[27] The Hartford area ranks second, next to Fairfield, on the basis of effective buying income per family.[28]

Of the 17 Labor Market Areas in Connecticut (still another means for regionalizing the State), Hartford ranked eighth in terms of growth of the number of jobs during the period 1960-1969. And, all of the seven Labor Market areas who made greater gains had much smaller populations—one sixth of the Hartford population or less.[29]

Hartford's major sources of economic strength are: insurance (headquarters of more than 35 insurance firms—"insurance capitol of the world"), aircraft engines, ordnance, typewriters, processed food products, fabricated metal products, watches and clocks, electrical machinery, and textile mill products. As State Capitol, there is also a heavy concentration of government employees. The economy is diversified with over 45 manufacturers employing 250 or more.[30] The economy has tended to be stable, but it should be noted that this stability is heavily based on the continued military and defense demands of the American economy. If the world ever has a truly peace time economy, Hartford would have a more serious adjustment than many areas. Indeed the State ranks first in military prime contracts per capita, and Hartford plays a very significant role in this "distinction."[31]

Agricultural income is no longer as important as it once was, but it is still significant. This income,[32]

> is derived largely from the extensive but diminishing tobacco crop in the Connecticut River valley, and to the growing fruit and vegetable crops. Dairying, greenhouses and poultry are also of importance in this basically urban area.

Finally, compared to the other large (over 250,000 people) metropolitan regions in the United States, the average Hartford worker had 127% of the national average in per capita personal income in 1968.[33] This, then, is a prosperous area in a prosperous state.

Within the Capitol Region, however, there are enormous differences among the towns on economic variables. For example, the average household in the city of Hartford had an effective buying income of $9,759 in 1968. In suburban West Hartford the figure was $17,923.[34] Not only are the suburbs different from the central city, but they are markedly different economically from each other.

The table below shows this range for selected Hartford suburbs when five variables are combined to form a socioeconomic status index—median years of school completed, percentage with four or more years of college, median family income, percentage of families making over $10,000 per year, and percentage of the working force engaged in white collar jobs.

Table 15

Selected Hartford Suburbs Ranked on SES Index[35]

Suburb	SES Index
West Hartford	173
Wethersfield	137
Bloomfield	135
Glastonbury	133
Newington	120
Manchester	109
Windsor	108
Rocky Hill	106
East Hartford	91

In addition to the general prosperity, to the defense related character, and to the wide economic variation between the suburbs and the city and among the suburbs, two other distinguishing features of the Hartford economy should be noted.

First, "Hartford is not a branch-plant city. Rather, it is the home office for a number of major national corporations."[36] The list includes, Travelers, Aetna, Connecticut General, Connecticut Mutual, Phoenix Mutual, The Hartford Group, United Aircraft, Kaman Aircraft and Colt Industries. The leaders of these firms have developed a strong proprietary interest in the home-base of their corporations. According to Ladd, they are as a result unusually active participants in the public life of the City even though they usually live in the suburbs.[37]

Second, "the Hartford business community is a close-knit one, made especially so by the elaborate network of interlocking directories that bring manufacturing, insurance, and banking executives together on boards of directors."[38] A study by a U. S. Congressional Committee is cited by Ladd to indicate that corporate interlocks are probably as extensive in Hartford as in any other location in the United States.[39]

This degree of interaction may, of course, be viewed as either a strength or a weakness of the local economy; but Ladd sees it as contributing to an unusually powerful and united business community that has been truly and deeply concerned about the economic health of the central city.

Transportation...The transportation facilities connecting the Hartford region with other places are outstanding. The City is at the headwaters of the navigable section of the Connecticut River tying the area by a 15 foot deep channel to the waterways of the world.[40] Three interstate highways meet at Hartford. Other highways are numerous and among the best maintained in the country. The Penn Central and the Central Vermont railways tie all the population centers of the State together. Finally, Bradley International Airport located 14 miles north of Hartford "is served by five first level and two second level passenger and cargo combination carriers, two first level all cargo carriers, and three third level certified air taxi operators."[41]

The internal transportation system in the Hartford region is apparently inadequate. The local newspapers are filled with stories about traffic jams, parking problems and crowded buses. There is no reason, however, to believe that Hartford is any worse off than most medium-sized cities in this regard. The Capitol Region Planning Agency rates the internal transportation system as "fair to poor."[42]

In short, Hartford seems to have the usual intracity transportation headaches, but better than average intercity facilities. The latter is certainly to be expected given Hartford's strategic position halfway between New York City and Boston in the megalopolis corridor of the Northeast.

Miscellaneous Social and Economic Data...A number of other social and economic characteristics will be briefly mentioned as a means of helping to set the scene for a discussion of regionalism in education.

Urban Renewal. Hartford is undergoing a very extensive urban renewal program. There are the $165,000,000 Constitution Plaza in the center of the city, a 45 million dollar Civic Center and the $200,000,000 Capitol Complex plus some smaller projects underway.[43] Many local sources took pride in these efforts, and there has been favorable national recognition.[44] However, the renewal efforts have apparently contributed to two major problems in the area—a shortage of low-cost housing and poor minority-majority group relations—both of which will be mentioned here and will recur in this report.

Housing. Ladd documents the fact that efforts to build low-cost housing in white sections of the city and in all of the suburbs have nearly always been unsuccessful.[45] Several interviewees argued that urban renewal has displaced persons with low economic standing and has not provided adequate substitute housing.[46]

In a detailed, tough, and thorough analysis of housing problems and needs the Capitol Region Planning Agency says that the following are the leading issues.[47] First is racial discrimination. The planners believe it is on the increase. Ninety percent of the black and Puerto

Rican population is entrenched or trapped in the worst housing area. Zoning ordinances, realty marketing practices, and lending policies are designed, in part, to maintain segregated housing. It is contended that most minority group members could afford decent housing if it were available to them.

Second, there are serious problems in housing economics quite distinct from institutional racism. Building costs have risen faster than incomes. Financing costs are high and poor and young families are at a disadvantage in obtaining loans. Property taxes are high and fall most heavily on those least able to pay. Land costs are zooming out of sight.

Finally, there are serious problems connected with housing quality and maintenance. Poor design, low-quality materials, inadequate policing, inadequate variety, poor or non-existent overall planning, crime and vandalism have all contributed to the headache.

Twenty-one specific recommendations are provided in the CRPA report. At the heart of all of them are arguments for increased commitments and involvement from all citizens, urban and suburban; and the need for a regional cooperative attack on the problem.

Minority relations. Racial, ethnic, religious and class antagonisms and misunderstandings are apparent in all aspects of community life in Hartford. This fact was documented by nearly every interviewee in this study. It is attested to by article after article in the local newspapers. It is consistently noted in the references listed in the bibliography on Hartford of this report. It is not possible for these researchers to say whether this is a greater or lesser problem in Hartford than in comparable regions, but it is a fundamental issue. Ladd puts it this way.[48]

> In Hartford, conflicting objectives and expectations are . . . sharply divergent and hotly disputed: those of a disadvantaged black lower class . . .; of white lower and lower-middle classes . . .; of a business and professional elite . . . . Race is never far below the surface in the talk in Hartford. Welded to status and economics, it intrudes in most of the difficult problems . . . .

Others. CRPA suggests that in all of the following categories some aspect of the operation—services, costs, involvement, conflict level—is unsatisfactory: comprehensive planning, housing, public welfare, health care, recreation and open space, public safety, refuse collection, refuse disposal, air pollution control, sewage, water pollution control, water supply and flood control. Refuse disposal and air pollution control received particularly low scores.[49] Again, it is not possible for these writers to argue that these problems are especially difficult in Hartford, but they do exist and it is clear that they must be attacked on a regional basis.

Government...Greater Hartford is fairly typical of metropolitan areas in the northeast in terms of political party membership—the majority of the registered voters in the City are Democrats and in most of the suburbs the edge goes to the Republicans.[50] This division, obviously, contributes to the difficulty of obtaining cooperation between town and city governments. It should be noted, however, that Connecticut, generally, and the City of Hartford, specifically, tend to vote on the "liberal side." Substantial majorities have been given to Democrats in national elections in Greater Hartford from 1932 to 1968.[51]

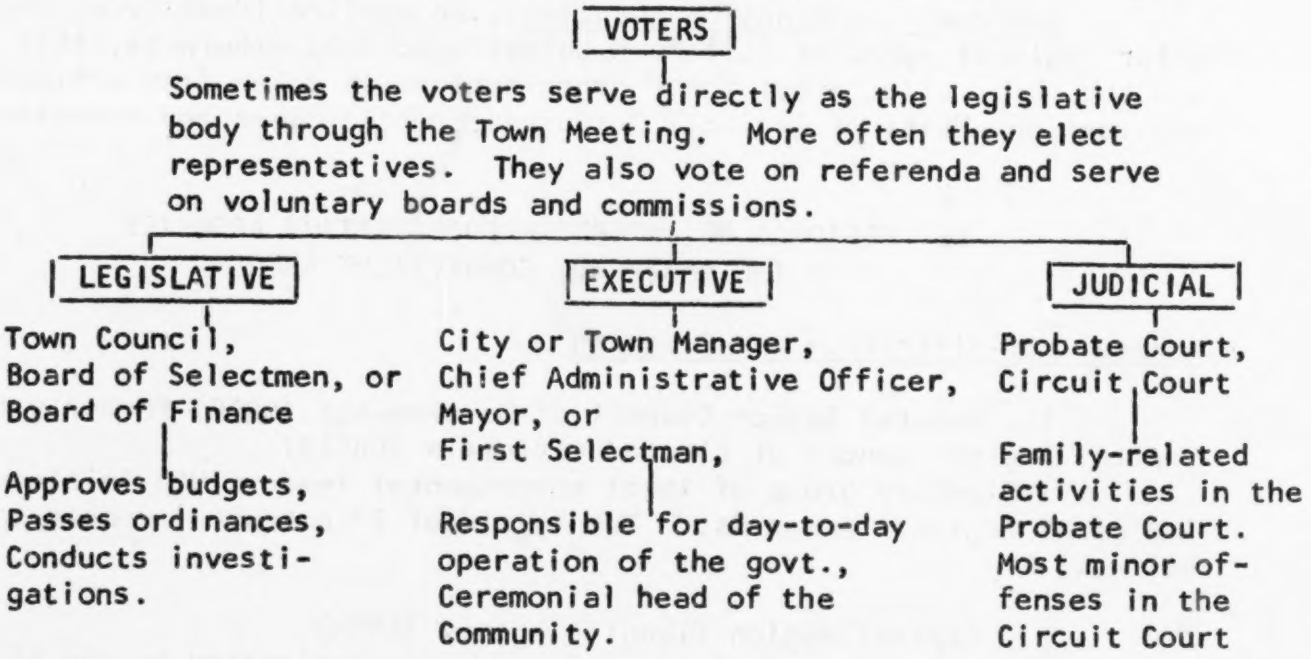
There were at least 67 units of local government in the Hartford SMSA in 1967 plus the school districts.[52] Eighty-two percent of these had property taxing power.[53] Each of this melange of governmental units is largely autonomous. These governments may (and some do) elect to cooperate on certain matters, but they may also refuse (and some do) to join with their counterparts.

The major forms of government extant in the Capitol Region include town governments, consolidated town/city governments, fire districts, a fire and sewer district, a sewer district, a lighting district, improvement associations, a regional school district, 28 regular school districts, a flood control commission, a refuse district and a transit district.[54] The boundaries differ in practically every case. In addition, there are numerous quasi-governmental units—public and private—which work with the smaller political units in an effort to achieve a variety of coordinated services and facilities.

The town governments and the two consolidated town/city districts are of five types: council-town manager, the chief administrative officer—selectman—board of finance form, the council-mayor form, the selectman-town meeting form, and the limited charter form. Little would be gained in this report by defining in detail the differences between these forms, however, Table 16 depicts some additional data.

Table 16

Local Government Organizational Patterns in the Capitol Region[55]



VOTERS

Sometimes the voters serve directly as the legislative body through the Town Meeting. More often they elect representatives. They also vote on referenda and serve on voluntary boards and commissions.

LEGISLATIVE

Town Council, Board of Selectmen, or Board of Finance

Approves budgets, Passes ordinances, Conducts investigations.

EXECUTIVE

City or Town Manager, Chief Administrative Officer, Mayor, or First Selectman,

Responsible for day-to-day operation of the govt., Ceremonial head of the Community.

JUDICIAL

Probate Court, Circuit Court

Family-related activities in the Probate Court. Most minor offenses in the Circuit Court

The CRPA study emphasizes that the type of government a town has makes a difference in terms of its tendency to cooperate with its neighbors.[56] It also documents that the existence of so many different forms of government complicates the business of coordination.

It should be noted again that the County does not exist as a governmental unit. Therefore, an obvious focal point for coordination in many parts of the country is simply not available here.

The City of Hartford has recently adopted a new charter. The new government was basically a move toward a stronger elected executive and to partisan Council elections. This direction is consistent with developments in many cities of the country in which the "reforms" of an earlier period are being rejected, e.g., a powerful "professional" city manager and non-partisan at-large elections. There do not seem to be any unique features of the city government that need to be discussed here.

In summary, the Hartford region is served by a myriad of overlapping, uncoordinated, sharply differing forms of local government. In this regard, it is like most metropolitan areas in the United States. In addition, the Hartford area does not have a meaningful county structure to fall back on. Neither does it have a "super city," i.e., a single municipality that is so large that it tends to dominate the political structure by its sheer bulk.

The Hartford area does have, however, a fascinating array of agencies and organizations which are attempting to coordinate some aspects of life. Of these, some deal almost exclusively with formal education. They will be identified and discussed in later chapters of this report. However, others of the coordinating agencies are not exclusively or even primarily educational bodies and some of the most important of these will be identified here.

Regional Coordination Agencies...An outline identifying the major regional agencies follows. Unless specified otherwise, this list and the information about these organizations is taken from a single publication, "List of Regional Resources: Publications and Agencies."[57]

KEY REGIONAL OR INTERTOWN COORDINATION AGENCIES IN THE HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT AREA

General Administration and Planning

1. Capital Region Council of Governments (CRCG) formerly the Capitol Region Council of Elected Officials (CRCEO)
(Voluntary group of local governmental leaders "to initiate and implement regional programs." Twenty-six of 29 potential member towns belong.)

2. Capitol Region Planning Agency (CRPA)
(Twenty-eight of 29 towns in a region designated by the State joined together for planning, particularly, physical planning purposes.)

3. Connecticut Public Expenditures Council (CPEC)
(Privately financed, fact-finding organization aimed at helping to solve the problems of local government.)

4. Regional Advisory Committee (RAC)
(Approximately 135 business, civic and political leaders charged with promoting regional cooperation.)

Housing

5. Connecticut Housing Investment Fund (CHIF)
(Works to increase minority-group home ownership in the suburbs—voluntary.)

6. Housing Now, Inc.
(Sponsored by the Urban League and the Council of Churches to assist low-income families find housing.)

7. Greater Hartford Housing Development Fund, Inc.
(Non-profit corporation to provide capital and consultation primarily to non-profit sponsors of housing.)

Health

8. Capitol Region Mental Health Planning Committee (CRMHPC)
(Using largely State funds, the Committee and its staff promotes mental health in the region through research, direct service and lobbying.)

9. Health Care Facilities Planning Council of Greater Hartford (HCFPC)
(Federal and private funds to assure most efficient possible capital investment in health facilities in the area.)

Social Services

10. Community Renewal Team of Greater Hartford (CRT)
(The "anti-poverty agency" for greater Hartford—using public and private funds. CRT appears to have some rather unusual aspects for an anti-poverty agency, e.g., it operates the 4-H and other Cooperative Extension programs in Hartford,[58] and it manages the consumer education project of the Better Business Bureau.)[59]

11. Greater Hartford Community Council
(Coordinates 168 social agencies in an 11 town area—both public and private.)

12. Greater Hartford Council of Churches—Social Service Dept.
(Voluntary coordination of social services through local religious groups.)

13. Liaison Catholic Archdiocese of Hartford—Commission for Ecumenical Affairs
(Coordinates social services of Roman Catholic agencies—works with other groups.)

14. Liaison for Jewish Federation
(Coordinates the various Jewish social service agencies in the region and cooperates with other agencies.)

15. Urban League of Greater Hartford
(Non-profit, non-political, agency staffed by professional social workers.)

16. Service Bureau for Women's Organizations
(Coordination of women's service organizations—voluntary)

Watershed Development and Recreation

17. Farmington River Watershed Association
(A liaison agency between towns and governmental agencies on conservation and environmental education.)

18. Greater Hartford Flood Control Commission
(State agency serving the Hartford, Bloomfield, Newington and West Hartford area.)

19. Connecticut River Watershed Council, Inc. (CRWC)
(Private conservation group serving the entire 410 mile Connecticut Valley.)

20. Great Meadows Conservation Trust, Inc.
(A group devoted to the conservation of the Great Meadow area in Wethersfield, Rocky Hill and Glastonbury.)

Economic Development

21. Hartford Labor Market Area—Cooperative Area Manpower Planning System (CAMPS)
(An agency set up by federal directive to coordinate manpower programs. Also supplies statistical information.)

22. Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce, Inc.
(Private funds—CC is an unusually powerful coordination force in Hartford.)

23. Manufacturers Association of Hartford County
(130 member companies including all the major employers.)

Utilities

24. Metropolitan District Commission (MDC)
(A water and sewer system for seven contiguous towns in Hartford County.)

25. North Central Refuse Disposal District (NCRDD)
(Two town cooperative effort)
Five other private utilities companies were named.

Transportation

26. The Connecticut Company
(A private bus company serving the city and the immediately surrounding suburbs.)

27. Greater Hartford Transit District
(Public agency which is not now functioning, but which is legally empowered to develop a public transportation agency for seven towns.)

Esthetics

28. Coordinating Council for the Arts, Inc., of Greater Hartford
(Voluntary group promoting the Arts in the Hartford region.)

29. Connecticut Commission on the Arts
(A State agency to promote the Arts)

30. Cultural Affairs, Inc.
(Fund-raising agency for the Arts)

31. 7 C's (Central Connecticut Communities Cultural, Civic, and Charitable Corporations)
(Fund-raising agency serving the entire Capitol Region.)

32. Community Arts Center, Inc.
(Non-profit corporation to promote the development of a facility for the performing and visual arts for the Hartford area.)

New (1970) General Agencies

33. Greater Hartford Corporation[60]
(A combination of Hartford industries and businesses to cooperate with public agencies in an effort to rejuvenate the area. Chamber of Commerce is instrumental.)

34. Hartford Process Inc.[61]
(A non-profit public service organization devoted to research and planning and sponsored by the Greater Hartford Corporation above.)

35. City Demonstration Agency[62]
(23 member agency that was created to be responsible for the Model Cities Program of the U.S. Dept. of Housing and Urban Development. This two and a quarter million dollar program is exclusively for neighborhoods in the City of Hartford, but it does have important regional implications.)

Neither space nor time will allow even a further comment on most of these agencies, but a few of them demand some additional words.

The Capitol Region Council of Governments is one of the numerous regional councils of local governments that exists in the United States. These councils have been fostered and strengthened by federal legislation, by funding regulations of governmental and private agencies, and by direct concerted action of the National Associations of Cities and of Urban Counties.

Hartford's Council has had a five year history. It changed its name in the summer of 1970 from the Capitol Region of Elected Officials, but this change was effected only to make it possible for non-elected officials to serve on the Council and not in an effort to change the basic functions of the organization. This Council takes pride in its voluntary, non-coercive status. The Director comments:[63]

> There are, of course, several ways by which to institute regional governmental actions: the bulldozer approach—pushing state and local legislation through; the carrot-and-stick approach—tying regional cooperation to state funding programs; or the voluntary cooperative approach—which is the one we are using in the Capitol Region.
>
> It is my belief that cooperative efforts based on demonstrated accomplishments and mutual trust can provide a meaningful adjunct to solving or improving the management of certain local problems.

It appears to these researchers that this statement is more than propaganda to relax local officials. It seems to represent accurately the philosophy of the organization. On the other hand, there is clear evidence that the Council is also working on the "bulldozing and carrot" fronts. That is, they are lobbying to achieve legislation favorable to regional coordination.

Twenty-six of the 29 eligible towns participate in the Council. The Council has an Executive Committee which acts as the policy making body and it has six standing committees. The concerns of these working committees are reflected in the following list of accomplishments and plans.[64]

In the law enforcement and public safety area a "Task Force on Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs" is operating. As a result of federal and State funds a Capitol Region Narcotics Squad—later broadened to the Capitol Region Crime Squad—is gathering data by "undercover means" helpful to law enforcement officials. The drugs task force has also been instrumental in opening a Capitol Region Drug Information Center. A full-time staff has been obtained. The Center's goals are educational, informational and counseling in nature. They are heavily involved in youth work, and apparently a good many volunteers supplement the professional staff. There is also a rehabilitation and treatment subcommittee at work trying to expand, improve and coordinate facilities in this area.

Other "law and order" activities include workshops for officers, purchase of police equipment to be jointly used by the various towns, data banks on crime and criminals, a "criminal intelligence system" for the region, cooperation with service agencies and schools, and so on.

The Council has moved ahead in the general field of coordinating public utilities. Junk car removal is an instance in which the Council lobbied for State legislation making a coordinated agency for this purpose feasible. Also, a Regional Utilities Task Force is being formed to seek implementation procedures required by the Regional Utilities Plan proposed by the Planning Agency. This would be a comprehensive utility system involving water supply, sewerage, drainage and refuse. As a short-range project the Council has worked out several inter-town arrangements on solid waste disposal. There is also a survey of underground water resources underway.

The Council has employed a consulting firm to lay the groundwork for a regional transit system under the auspices of the federal Urban Mass Transportation Administration. In the meantime, the Council is cooperating with public and private transportation agencies in the area to improve service.

Many examples of attempts to coordinate technical services exist. For example, the Council assisted the Library Council—an agency developed originally by the Council—in the development of a regional cooperative purchasing program. This common purchasing operation will be coordinated with others through another new agency, the Capitol Region Purchasing Council. In its first year of operation the Purchasing Council bought police vehicles, fuel oil and gasoline, water treatment chemicals, lawn seed, fertilizers, and tires for the participating towns.

CRCG has acted as a catalyst in the development of municipal computer information services for the region. This service remains in its early stages of development. One day the Council hopes to establish a single regionally-oriented computer information facility.

Another technical service which is still on the drawing boards but which has received a lot of local attention is the development of coordinated arrangements for collective bargaining with all public employees. Such a service was given high priority by the member towns in a recent survey. The Council has received support and encouragement from the Labor Education Institute of the University of Connecticut in this endeavor. It is seeking funds from the State Department of Community Affairs for a pilot project, "Collective Bargaining Procedures and Needs for Capitol Region Municipalities."

There are some government management and coordination activities but they are in their infancy. One accomplishment has been to achieve greater coordination between the Planning Agency and the Council of Governments. For example, one billing system for the two agencies is now used. There is also a CRCG sponsored movement to develop a statement of clear objectives for each of the regional agencies to insure that they don't duplicate efforts.

The Director of CRCG told the investigators via telephone that his agency was not directly and actively involved in education, because other agencies were available for this purpose.[65] However, nearly all of the operations specified above have educational implications. Furthermore, the Council cooperates with the educative agencies. And, there are other direct educational efforts, despite the Director's statement. For example, CRCG is the moving force behind the operation of a Community Youth Group Home, a type of half-way-house for youthful law breakers. Formal education is a major function of this facility. The Council's publications list numerous other instances of health, education, and welfare functions achieved primarily through direct cooperation with welfare and health agencies.

As noted, housing is a major problem in Hartford. The Council does not appear to be doing much beyond providing encouragement to private and public developers. The Director speaks of a coordination role rather than of an action role in this field.

Although CRCG has no real power, it seems to be making some headway. This seems particularly noteworthy when one realizes the modest budget of the organization—total revenue for fiscal year 1969-1970 was slightly over 85 thousand dollars.[66] This positive recognition of CRCG should not, however, be construed as a contradiction of earlier remarks **about** the overlap and multiplicity of local governmental units. This generally effective voluntary council is only just beginning a vast undertaking.

As indicated, Greater Hartford enjoys the services of the Capitol Region Planning Agency.

> A planning region [in Connecticut] is composed of a group of relatively homogeneous towns which have definite economic, social and physical ties. The towns within the regional boundaries share mutual interests, needs and problems. The [State through] the Connecticut Development Commission defined 15 planning regions which include 163 towns. A regional planning agency is created by legislative action of the individual towns within the planning region. The purpose of an agency is to formulate a plan of development for the region and to carry out regional planning functions.[67]

The Capitol Region has been redefined and broadened three times until it now includes 29 towns, 28 of which have decided to participate in the agency.[68] CRPA is governed by 63 representatives of the 28 participating towns, the number being determined on a population basis except that no town may have fewer than two representatives.

"CRPA's plans and recommendations must stand on their own merits. The agency has no direct authority to enforce its recommendations or to require conformance by any municipality to the Regional Plan."[69] While numerous interviewees mentioned this absence of legally defined enforcement power, it was also reported that the weight of public opinion for a decision that has the approval of the majority of towns can be remarkably heavy on the government that decides not to abide by CRPA's recommendations.[70]

Regular funding for CRPA has been obtained from the national Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Connecticut Office of State Planning and local town governments. Occasional sources of revenue include the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare of the federal government, other federal sources funneled through the State government, State conservation and special purpose funds and private foundations.[71] Formal contractual or legal linkages have been formed with the Capitol Region Council of Governments, 19 town governments through Open Space Agreements, Willimantic River Task Force, Capitol Region Library Council, the City Demonstration Agency (Model Cities), and the Health Planning Council. All of the regional agencies listed in this report and others not mentioned herein have had informal contacts with staff members of CRPA.[72]

CRPA lists accomplishments in the following fields:[73] housing, taxation, common purchasing, data processing, open space planning, conservation, water supply, sewage, flood control, refuse disposal including junk cars, air pollution, mass transit, airport development, public information, land use, health care, industrial development, narcotics and drug education, law enforcement, manpower programs, day care services, social service referrals, model cities planning, libraries, and higher and lower education. In spite of the human resources items just listed, it seems fair to say that this is an agency concerned more with physical planning than with social planning. The Director of CRPA agreed that this was true, and school leaders emphasized it.[74]

The following additional points came out in an interview with the Director of CRPA:[75]

There are no formal links with educational agencies, but informal contacts are common.

The 63 regional planning policy makers are almost exclusively white middle-class citizens.

There are strong and effective ties with Model Cities and these relations have been present since the early planning of the Housing and Urban Development project.

People of New England, particularly, fear regionalism. They are intensely local in their orientation. "Townmeetingism" lives on. (This point was made again and again by a wide range of interviewees. One can't help but wonder about the validity of the argument. How can it be that New Englanders are more provincial, more fearful of bigness in government, than anyone else? It seems quite absurd to claim that the spirit of the colonial times remain but intelligent local citizens insist that this is true.)[76] The Director of CRPA thinks that the insistance on local control is particularly evident in housing and education—regionalism in refuse disposal, for example, is much more acceptable. (This seems to be true in all parts of the country.)

One student of educational regionalism in Hartford, claims that CRPA will probably never direct a major share of its energies to the area of education. Further, he contends that this seems to be true of most planning agencies in the country.[77] However, the man hastens to point out that CRPA staff are always willing to respond to specific requests from educational leaders.[78]

Attitudes of interviewees generally were highly positive toward CRPA. An "Honor Award" from the American Institute of Planners was earned in 1966, and the U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development presented its 1968 intergovernmental Award to CRPA.[79] This, then, appears to be an unusually active, successful voluntary regional planning association.

Local reactions to the Regional Advisory Committee, RAC, are decidedly mixed—some argue that the Committee is "very influential and effective" and others seem to believe that the agency duplicates the work of other groups and is almost totally impotent.[80] Even people directly involved with RAC seem to be ambivalent.[81]

RAC is one of the many outgrowths of the interests in regionalism of the Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce and businessmen in general. Whether for business reasons or for social concerns, business leaders in Hartford have been and continue to be major proponents of bringing the City and the ambient towns together on a wide variety of subjects and services. This fact is fundamental to the understanding of the Hartford situation. RAC was designed to promote regionalism through education and public information. It describes its goal as follows:[82]

> To provide a continuous regional forum through programs of public information, education and inquiry. To involve the people of the capitol region in the definition of local, inter-local, and regional problems, solutions, opportunities, and priorities, and to promote among the people of the region a greater understanding of those problems and opportunities which face communities as groups and as parts of the region.

The group apparently has about 130 active members; it is trying to increase the membership.[83] RAC members are required to pay one dollar annual dues, but they are asked to contribute $10.00 or more. Obviously, this discrepancy is intended to encourage a range in the economic status of the members.

RAC hopes to accomplish its goals through a monthly newsletter which contains questionnaires and uses other means for trying to get feedback from the readers, through meetings and conferences, and through wide use of the mass media. Financing comes from individual membership dues and donations, businesses and industries, private foundations and through a matching funds contract with CRPA.

RAC has been functioning for about six years. The name appears often in the newspapers. The organization has an executive officer and a small supporting staff. People interviewed in this study knew what RAC was. Beyond this, it is impossible for these researchers to evaluate the organization. One final comment on RAC—in Hartford and elsewhere—the existence of an educational, informational, pressure group of interested, informed citizens acting in behalf of regionalism seems essential if general attitudes toward regionalism are going to be changed.

One community leader in Hartford said that the Greater Hartford Corporation (GHC) was created because the Regional Advisory Committee wasn't moving fast enough to satisfy the Chamber of Commerce leadership.[84] In any event, the GHC is another child of the Chamber, and it has made dramatic recent entrance on the Hartford stage. Its activities made it possible for the HARTFORD COURANT to headline, "Huge Plan Unveiled to Rebuild Region."[85]

The Greater Hartford Corporation is the direct result of the work of five men—the President of the Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce, the President of Connecticut General Life Insurance Co., the Chairman of United Aircraft Corporation, the Chairman of Aetna Life and Casualty, and a late executive of the Travelers Corporation. They believed in the twin causes of regionalism and rejuvenation for Greater Hartford. Also, the "Hartford Five" as they are called by the COURANT wanted the area to have its own research and development organization.[86]

> With that in mind they formed, in early 1969, the Greater Hartford Corporation, an organization they envisioned as a kind of holding company for whatever specific efforts were to follow. The corporation would serve as spark plug for local business in the rejuvenation push; it would also provide a mechanism through which business could cooperate with the public sector and the rest of the community.

The Greater Hartford Corporation raised $375,000 from 21 local firms apparently in a matter of weeks, and contracted with the American Cities Corporation,[87]

> to develop systems and plans which would produce a full realization of the potentialities of the Greater Hartford Community in terms of housing, employment, education, mental and physical health, transportation, communication, recreation, government and justice—in short, a comprehensive program designed to produce for Greater Hartford a new environment and way of life that is economically sound and socially superior.[88]

The American Cities study has been completed and GHC enthusiastically accepted it. GHC asked for and quickly received pledges of three million dollars from 40 corporations in Greater Hartford to implement the activities suggested by the study. Some thirty million more dollars are wanted and the Director of the Chamber of Commerce expects at least five million to be in hand by the end of 1971.[89]

The American Cities study was focused on the processes by which a new Hartford could be born. It specifically recommended: (1) the creation of a fixed dividend community development corporation to obtain land and develop or redevelop it; (2) the formation of a non-profit research and evaluation agency to be known as Hartford Process, Inc., and (3) the evolution of an effective active citizens council or a peoples forum to involve those people who are usually left out of the planning process.

There seems to be considerable optimism about the plan although the third recommendation is recognized to be the most difficult to implement. Will the Greater Hartford Corporation with its new study and its proposal for still more new organizations work? Who knows? The plan has attracted national attention; HUD Secretary, Romney, has been enthusiastic about it. President Nixon discussed the American Cities study of Hartford with its leaders. Planners from all over the country are watching it,[90] local politicians seem to be proud and a little worried, and ghetto dwellers in North Hartford are, predictably, skeptical.[91]

As noted several times, the Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce seems to be behind everything in Hartford connected with regionalism. Everett Ladd says the Chamber is regularly at the center of any significant discussion of public policy in the greater Hartford area. According to business leaders themselves, this has not happened because of any overriding sense of public service. A banker said, "There is nothing altruistic about this. We have a big stake in what happens in the City. If the City decays or explodes, it's bad for us all around."[92] But if this is true in Hartford, it ought to be true in nearly all of our cities. Is this Chamber of Commerce different from other chambers in terms of its interest in coordination and regionalism? The researchers can't prove it, but we tend to think so for the reasons cited earlier. If the reader has confidence in Stewart Alsop (whose brother is a Hartford insurance executive), then he will accept as evidence that this national columnist calls the business leaders of Hartford, "enlightened." He said that they[93] "have begun to talk like a bunch of damn New Deal spenders, and in this there is much hope for urban America."

There is another potential reason for the strong and successful position the Chamber has taken, and that is leadership. Ladd says,[94]

> That the Chamber has become the main instrument for political action by Hartford big business is the result of the exceptionally vigorous leadership of the man appointed its executive vice-president in 1956, Arthur Lumsden. A decade later, the Chamber took the unusual step of giving Lumsden, its full-time administrative head, the title of president.

Also it certainly doesn't hurt that the Chamber has a handsome budget, a large and able supporting staff, and a Board of Directors composed of many of the most important business elites.[95] These latter elements, of course, may be causes or may be results of the Chamber's effectiveness.

In any event, the Chamber of Commerce has been heavily involved in all regional attempts—the general ones mentioned so far, the educational ones to be discussed in later sections of this report, and in numerous smaller specific-purpose instances that will not be mentioned in these pages at all. Permit one example of this latter category—the June 2, 1970, HARTFORD COURANT, contained an article about the appointment of a man to coordinate 30 volunteer service agencies in the greater Hartford area. His salary will be paid by three private foundations. The Greater Hartford Community Chest and Council had wanted such a position for some time. They attained their objective only after the Chamber of Commerce joined them in seeking funding. And this seems quite indicative of the unusual role the Chamber plays in Hartford—the new man will be an employee, not of some new unit nor of some existing social agency, but rather he will work directly for the Chamber.[96]

Some interviewees rather grudgingly said the Chamber's interest and concern had been forced upon them by the "explosive situation."[97] Others suggested that the interest had been developing over a long period of time, and that the Chamber was interested in regionalism long before it became fashionable.[98] But everyone with whom we talked and every printed source we have seen puts the spotlight on the Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce in the development of regionalism in Hartford.

There are some other forms of regional or, at least, inter-town activities in Hartford. For example, there are a good many agreements between two or three towns to provide a specific service or to protect a commonly valued facility. These inter-town agreements are more likely to occur between suburban communities of like socio-economic status than between the City and the suburbs, and the CRPA warns that while these agreements may be useful in the short run they may side-track efforts to resolve the broader problems.[99] There are also some single-purpose and multi-purpose legally sanctioned districts—some of which were mentioned in these pages.

At the heart of regional development in Hartford are two elements. On the one hand, are voluntary metropolitan organizations which are recognized by the State or national governments, e.g., CRCG and CRPA (also the Capitol Region Education Council to be discussed in detail later); on the other hand, are private agencies supported primarily by the large corporations of the area.

There is unquestionably some overlap in this system. There is unnecessary competition and lack of communication among these agencies. There is inefficiency; it is difficult just to keep these numerous agencies clearly in mind. But, students of the local scene without exception, as far as we know, argue that a single metropolitan government in which the town governments would disappear is impossible at this time in Hartford and that even a confederation "is not politically feasible."[100] County governments do not exist in Connecticut and since it appears highly unlikely that the State government will impose any kind of regional government on the people of the Capitol area, there is now and for the predictable future a dependence on voluntary semi-public agencies and private ones. Finally, Hartford appears to be a place in which these kinds of general regionalization mechanisms, with all of their problems, have made some significant accomplishments.

Public Schools

Overview on Education...In Connecticut as elsewhere in the United States public education is a function of the State government. This New England State has a prestigious policy making body appointed by the Governor, the State Board of Education. While this group delegates much of the day-to-day operation of the schools to local boards, it retains final legal responsibility for all aspects of lower-school education. It also directly supervises very small school systems—fewer than 35 teachers—and operates 15 regional vocational-technical secondary schools.[101] In addition, the State Board of Education is responsible for various aspects of higher education, adult education and special education.

It is not surprising that economically prosperous Connecticut is also well educated, e.g., only five states had a higher percentage of college graduates in 1960.[102] However, there is another side to the coin. Chiefly because of recent immigration into the State, there is also a large educationally disadvantaged segment of the population. For instance, no state out of the Old South had a larger percentage of its potential military inductees fail to meet the mental requirements in 1967.[103] In 1960, Connecticut ranked behind 24 other states in terms of the percentage of its population who had completed five or fewer years of formal schooling,[104] and in the same year only 19 states had a higher percentage of illiterates.[105] Thus, the picture is bimodal in Connecticut—a large group is well educated and another large group is undereducated.

Similarly, on the matter of the funds spent for public education, there is a curious picture of highs and lows. For example, in 1968 only eight states paid their teachers more using adjusted dollars based on actual local buying power,[106] but, conversely, only two states invested a lower percentage of personal income on public education.[107] This last point is a major concern of many educators we interviewed; leaders of the teachers groups were particularly upset.[108] Yet, Connecticut ranked eleventh from the top on the dollar expenditures per pupil enrolled in public schools.[109] Part of this strange phenomenon is explained by the large percentage of Connecticut's children attending parochial and independent schools—see the section of this report on other educative agencies.

In the Capitol Region there are 29 town school districts, a Regional High School district that includes three towns, two State Regional vocational-technical secondary schools, six distinct ESEA Title III Projects, three town-operated vocational agriculture centers, several units of the University of Connecticut, nine private accredited colleges and universities, two public community colleges, a State technical college, five State approved special education programs, five special State-aided schools, numerous parochial and independent pre-college schools, and numerous other public and private colleges within five miles of the region.[110]

The enrollments as of October 1969 and the grades served of the public school districts of the Capitol Region are shown on Table 16.

Table 16

Public School Enrollments in the Capitol Region,
October, 1969[111]

Town	Total	Grades Covered
Andover*	375	k-6
Avon	2,292	pre-k-12
Bloomfield	4,545	k-12
Bolton	1,003	k-12
Canton	1,715	k-12
East Granby	977	k-12
East Hartford	12,647	k-12
East Windsor	2,206	k-12
Ellington	2,244	k-12
Enfield	13,172	k-12
Farmington	3,616	k-12
Glastonbury	5,576	k-12
Granby	1,744	k-12
Hartford	28,686	pre-k-12
Hebron*	709	k-6
Manchester	9,993	k-12
Marlborough*	474	k-6
Newington	6,479	k-12
Rocky Hill	2,147	k-12
Simsbury	5,403	k-12
Somers	1,627	k-12
South Windsor	5,307	k-12
Suffield	2,334	k-12
Tolland	2,276	k-12
Vernon	7,218	k-12
West Hartford	13,103	k-12
Wethersfield	6,093	k-12
Windsor	5,654	k-12
Windsor Locks	4,173	k-12
Regional School District No. 8	886	7-12
Total in the Capitol Region	154,674	
State Total	655,084	

*Towns included in Regional School District No. 8.

The research team believed that it was unnecessary and undesirable to gather specific information on all of these school districts for the purposes of this study, so a stratified sample was drawn. Two large suburban systems (over 6,000 pupils); two medium-sized districts (2,001 to 6,000 pupils); and two districts of less than 2,000 students were randomly selected from the appropriate-sized districts. Hartford completed the sample. Interviews were scheduled with the chief school officers of only these schools. In most instances, specific data will be reported from only these schools in the remainder of this section.

Governance...Each of these seven school districts is a superintendency. Each has an elected school board. Interestingly enough, while the election is strictly a local affair, school board members in Connecticut are, by law, officials of the State. Another unusual feature of this State is that school districts must be coterminous with town lines.

It is true, however, that two or more towns may join together in regional districts. There were 13 such districts early in 1970, nine of which only operated secondary schools.[112] As we have seen, one of the regional secondary schools is located in Greater Hartford. Since 1967 the Connecticut legislature has directly encouraged the consolidation of small districts through State grants-in-aid. Regional districts get a flat 10% increase in State aid, and they receive from 75% to 80% reimbursement for new construction costs while the average for town districts is 25%. There are other financial advantages.[113] In view of these benefits, it is surprising that more regional districts have not been formed. There are still over 60 school districts in the State serving towns of under 5,000 population.

Returning to conventional town school districts such as those included in our sample, we find that school boards in Connecticut are corporate bodies with the power to provide and have jurisdiction over schools; to employ teachers; to levy taxes and to borrow money. On fiscal matters, however, the boards are not autonomous. Towns of over 10,000 must provide an adult education program. All towns, regardless of size, must supply basic citizenship and English classes if 20 or more citizens over 16 years of age petition for such a program.[114] All school districts must provide classes for the handicapped or must make arrangements to send children to neighboring school districts having appropriate offerings.[115]

Each of the seven school districts in the sample has unique organizational features, but discussing these does not seem to be fruitful in terms of the purposes of this report. Two specific comments do seem appropriate.

First, Bolton and to a slightly lesser extent, Granby, have too few pupils. Few, if any, educators would any longer contend that a system with fewer than a 100 graduates each year can offer an adequate program efficiently. As the Superintendent of the Bolton schools says,[116] "If for no other reason than increasing costs, these small districts will have to be discontinued." Bolton already sends its special education pupils to neighboring districts.

The other point is that Hartford, at the other end of the scale, hopes to decentralize its system. The Superintendent wants three subdistricts which will cut across socio-economic lines.[117] The organization chart (Table 17) that follows reflects a fairly standard centralized administrative structure as it exists in Hartford today.

A number of specific comments on and reactions to the governance of the schools of the region were received while the research team was in the Hartford area. Also, an analysis of printed materials has led to some additional observations. What follows is a summary of these ideas.

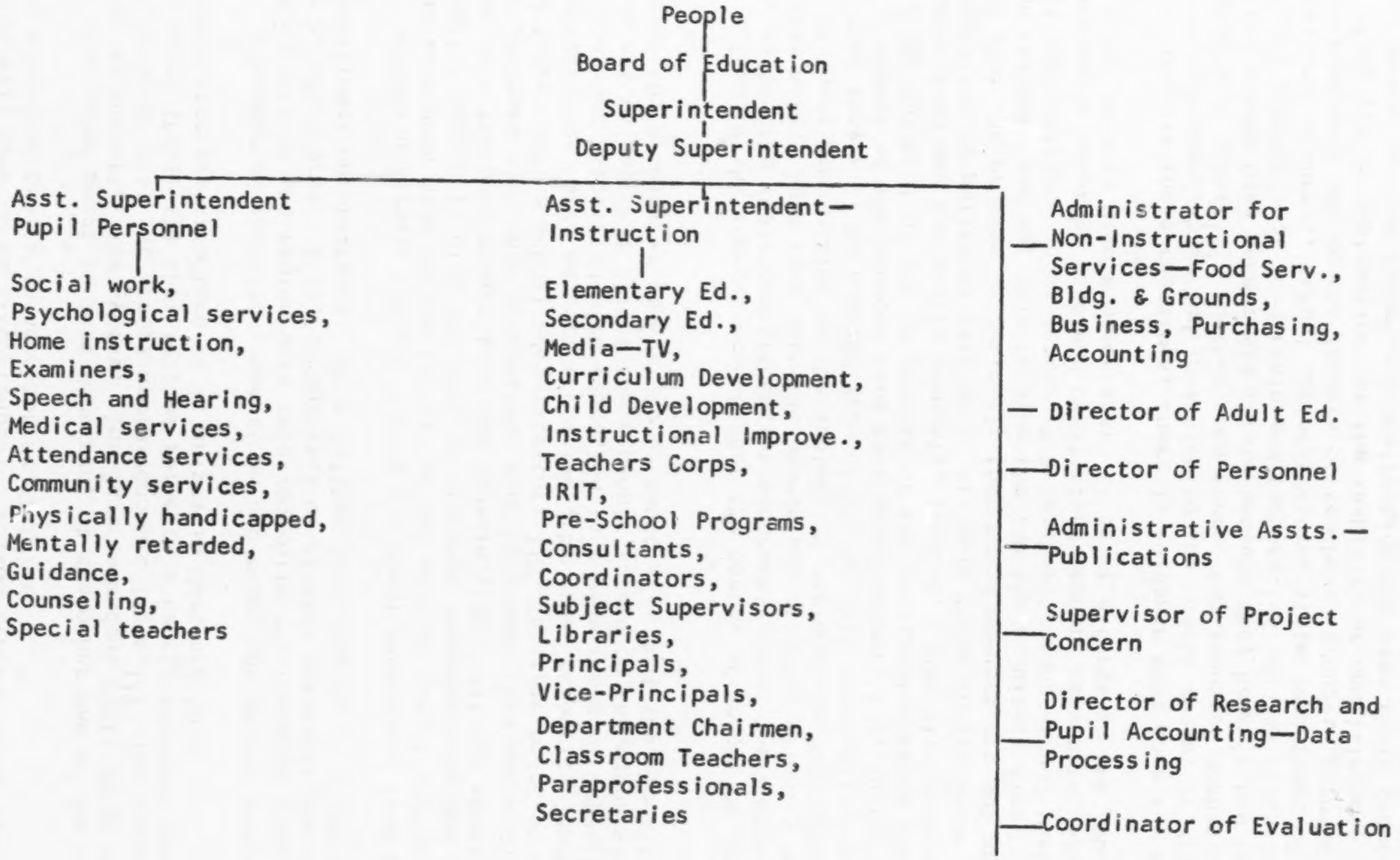
First, numerous, indeed, almost universal references from our sources have been made to the failure of the various school boards in the Capitol Region to give the kind of vigorous leadership needed to achieve true regional cooperation and coordination. All the chief school officers with whom discussions were held took this position, and so did lower echelon school administrators.[119] The same point of view was expressed by board members themselves, by other community leaders, and by persons associated with education in a wide range of capacities.[120] This is not to say that all of these people agreed on the underlying causes of the problem or on what to do about it. Just the opposite is true.

Some of the sources argued that the boards of education are simply reflecting their constituencies accurately—that the boards could do little more. Some said that the boards are actually slightly out-in-front of their communities on the subject of regionalism, but not so far ahead that they will be removed from office or that they will lose budget votes. Others of the sources said that board members are, in fact, simply the faithful of one or another of the political parties that nominated them and not really community leaders. (Not all board members are nominated by political parties.) At least three interviewees reported that the problem is basically that board members are not well enough informed and not able to give the job the requisite time. A school administrator and a leader of a teachers' group argued that the problem would never be resolved until board members were paid and were, therefore, able to give a major share of their efforts to the job.

Despite these reactions, there is evidence that in a few communities the boards have led in achieving the modest amount of regionalism that does exist.[121] Further, one source has reported emphatically that the boards have been timid mainly because they haven't had the necessary professional leadership and support.[122] He was referring to professional planners, school administrators, state department of education personnel and to the leaders of teachers' groups. Perhaps the most often stated explanation for the inability or unwillingness of some school boards to lead toward regionalization has been their dependence on other bodies. This is the second major point to be made on the governance of schools.

Table 17

Organization of Hartford Public Schools[118]



- People
  - Board of Education
    - Superintendent
      - Deputy Superintendent
        - Asst. Superintendent Pupil Personnel
          - Social work, Psychological services, Home instruction, Examiners, Speech and Hearing, Medical services, Attendance services, Community services, Physically handicapped, Mentally retarded, Guidance, Counseling, Special teachers
        - Asst. Superintendent—Instruction
          - Elementary Ed., Secondary Ed., Media—TV, Curriculum Development, Child Development, Instructional Improve., Teachers Corps, IRIT, Pre-School Programs, Consultants, Coordinators, Subject Supervisors, Libraries, Principals, Vice-Principals, Department Chairmen, Classroom Teachers, Paraprofessionals, Secretaries
        - Administrator for Non-Instructional Services—Food Serv., Bldg. & Grounds, Business, Purchasing, Accounting
        - Director of Adult Ed.
        - Director of Personnel
        - Administrative Assts.—Publications
        - Supervisor of Project Concern
        - Director of Research and Pupil Accounting—Data Processing
        - Coordinator of Evaluation

School boards in the area are fiscally dependent. They may and do receive cuts in their budgets from town councils, town managers, and special finance officials and bodies. Furthermore, the voters usually may and sometimes do veto the funding plan, and on occasion this can be achieved by a quite small minority of population in a poorly attended town meeting. The Superintendent of the Hartford schools speaks out on this subject both locally and on the national scene at every opportunity. He says,[123] "[A] major obstacle in the path toward quality integrated education in Hartford [and to all improvements in schooling] is the lack of fiscal autonomy for its Board of Education." He goes on to discount the argument that one legislative body at the local level should have final control of the allocation of all public funds, and he argues that a board simply can not do its job if other governmental units control the purse strings. Others in the region spoke less heatedly on this subject than did the spirited Hartford Superintendent, but laymen and educators alike with whom we talked tended to agree with him.

A third point made by a chorus of our respondents was that the State—the legislature, the State Board of Education and the staff of the Education Department—have not shown adequate leadership in behalf of regionalism in education.[124] Phrases such as the following were offered regarding the State: "sold on regionalism but weak," "behind regionalism but passive," "ineffective," and "no leadership." Still others asserted that the legislature is still dominated by the suburbs and small towns, and, therefore, is not promoting regionalism, because it doesn't want to—that the hands of the State Board and SED are tied. This research team lacks the necessary evidence to document this point. The Commissioner of Education denies that it is true and says that the balance of power has shifted to the urbanized towns.[125]

In reviewing these three points one can sense the feeling of frustration that seems to be ever present for the educational reformer, i.e., local boards are timid, but if they try to exercise any leadership they can be slapped down by other local governmental units. Likewise, the State Board of Education and the Department staff may lack vigor, but they are hamstrung by the State legislature. Advocates of local control say, "give the citizens the power," but all too often "the people" tend to vote against school budgets. School administrators and teachers' groups think they know what to do if only they had the power to do it; and, of course, students want a piece of the action these days. (Local newspapers contain numerous stories of student unrest in Hartford.)[126] Split authority is, obviously, a perennial, nation-wide issue in education. A "blue-ribbon" State-wide group of academic, professional and business leaders, the Connecticut Education Council, puts it this way:[127]

> The diffusion of power to make decisions affecting schools makes it inordinately difficult to bring about change or to place responsibility for inadequacies. Determination of appropriations for schools locally, is not finally determined by the Board of Education but by a city financial control body. At the State level the amount and pattern of distribution of

> educational funds is [sic] determined by the legislature, not the State Board of Education. It frequently occurs that each body replies to those who seek educational improvements by indicating that the remedy lies with the other body. The public image is that partisan political interests tend to outweigh educational needs in determining appropriation levels, and that educational decisions of school boards may not sufficiently consider public reactions to educational costs as a result of the present division of responsibility.

Is this problem more serious in Connecticut than elsewhere? It is difficult to say, but it is quite possible to point to a good many boards of education in the rest of the country which are fiscally independent. It is possible also to show that state officials elsewhere have moved toward the creation of regional districts with more speed than in Connecticut.

The Commissioner of Education in Connecticut said some things that may shed some light on this matter.[128] He argued that he was a regionalist for many reasons, but he emphatically does not want Connecticut to adopt the BOCES system of neighboring New York. His reason—he believes that New York's system takes too much authority away from local citizens. (For what is worth, this team of researchers saw no such threat in their study of regional educational development in New York.)[129] Furthermore, the Commissioner emphasized the fear Connecticut residents are presumed to have of bigness and their strong commitment to localism.

A fourth major point on the governance of schools and one that partially conflicts with the third, is the contention that the State itself is the educational region that makes the most sense in Connecticut. Because of the small geographic size, the dense population, and the excellent transportation network, and because of the inability to obtain adequate and equal support for public schools locally, several respondents claimed that the entire state of Connecticut should comprise one educational region.[130] The details of the proposed organization were not spelled out, but suggestions of State-wide negotiations, fund allocations, and school boundary determinations were made. As a part of this argument, several other respondents took the position that like it or not the State is going to take a far greater role in educational policy making because of the outcome of pending court cases on racial desegregation and aid to private schools.[131] According to this view, the State will be ordered to move forcefully into a new role.

The fifth and final point was that some powerful groups were emerging or were reestablishing their power bases in public school affairs, and that understanding the roles of these groups is becoming central to comprehending the changing picture of governance of schools in the Capitol Region. The motivations of some of these groups are in conflict. The following are some of the most important.

First, would be teachers' groups. Collective bargaining or professional negotiations, or call it what you will, is well established in Connecticut. In the cities, locals of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) tend to be in the driver's seat, while in the suburbs the affiliated chapters of the Connecticut Education Association (CEA)/ National Education Association (NEA) are speaking for the teachers. The rivalry between the professional groups is heated, and this seems to detract from regional cooperation. Both groups, however, are on record in support of educational regionalism.[132] For example, the CEA's Board of Directors unanimously approved a policy statement in March of 1970 which included these recommendations:[133]

> increased regionalization . . . and the provision of strong financial incentives from the State and federal governments to promote such regionalization . . .
>
> the widespread expansion of 'Project Concern' and similar inter-district programs. . . .

The Executive Secretary of the Hartford AFT Local 1018 would probably agree with the statement above, perhaps even if he knew the source; and he insisted that regionalism will strengthen "teacher power."[134] He sees regionalism as being educationally sound and, at the same time, in the best interests of teachers—in their economic and professional welfare. So, teachers' groups in Hartford with their new-found power seem to be on the side of regionalism. It should be noted, however, that two informed laymen said that in actual practice the teachers groups have been cool to regionalism, particularly, the small suburban associations.[135]

Other powerful groups that were specially mentioned by one or more of our sources were:

The Education Committee of the Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce as well as other business groups. (This comes as no surprise to the reader.)

Local community action groups or neighborhood corporations such as the South Arsenal Neighborhood Development Corporation (SAND) which is under the sponsorshop of the State Department for Community Affairs. New and more militant black and Puerto Rican groups are just beginning to make themselves heard. One such group is called, the Black Caucus.

Parents and others associated with private and parochial schools. These people have a lot at stake and are numerous and well organized in the region.

State and regional school board associations.

School neighborhood councils, but not PTA's. (Both urban and suburban educators insisted that PTA's are ineffective.)

State and regional associations of school administrators.

Other specific-purpose professional associations.

Ladd emphasizes that more traditional groups such as the Democratic party in City and the Republican party in many of the suburbs still have great power on school affairs.[136]

General regional governmental and planning groups such as CRCG and CRPA are beginning to be influential even though they claim to be only lightly involved in education.

Economics of the Schools...As was seen in the previous section, it is extremely difficult to talk about the governing of schools without talking about financing them. But, although some things have already been said regarding paying for schools, additional factors need to be made explicit. There are some surprises.

Table 18 shows the net current expenses per pupil for the seven districts in the sample. These expenses include expenditures for administration, instruction, attendance and health services, operation and maintenance of school plant, fixed charges, the net cost to towns for food services and student activities, and tuition payments to other towns and regional school districts in the State. Indeed, just about everything but debt service, transportation and equipment costs are included.

Table 18

Seven Towns of the Capitol Region and Their Current Net Per Pupil Expenses for Public Schools, 1968-1969[137]

Rank in the State (169 towns)	Town	Amount
5	Hartford	$916.93
7	West Hartford	899.34
25	East Hartford	774.31
47	Bolton	690.54
70	Plainville	655.30
99	Windsor	616.87
135	Granby	571.66
State-wide average		703.55

The most obvious fact to be gleaned from these data is the wide range of per pupil costs among these seven school districts. The assertion that this is the typical situation in most metropolitan areas should not detract from its seriousness. Greater Hartford is unusual, however, in that the City spends more per pupil than the suburban districts, even very wealthy, West Hartford. In 1964-65 this was true in only two of the 37 largest SMSA's,[138] and the differences between the central city and its wealthiest suburbs were shockingly inverse to the need. For example, note the 1968-69 comparisons reported in Table 19.

Table 19

A Comparison of Selected Central Cities and Their Suburbs on Expenditures Per Pupil for Public Education, 1968-1969[139]

City	Per Pupil Expenditure	Suburb	Per Pupil Expenditure
N. Y. City	$1,031	Scarsdale	$1,626
Los Angeles	636	Beverly Hills	1,131
Cleveland	630	Shaker Heights	968
Newark	637	Tenafly	922
Detroit	575	Grosse Point	875
Boston	655	Newton	842

Another interesting and unexpected fact revealed in Table 18 is that four of the seven districts in this sample from the Capitol Region rank below the average of the 169 towns in the State. Given the general economic prosperity of the region, one would have predicted that most of the Hartford districts would be well above the average for the State.

Returning to the phenomenon of more funds being spent per pupil for city children then for their suburban counterparts, several additional facts should be identified. First, and this too is remarkable in some ways, the distribution of federal aid is working the way it is supposed to work. Note the figures in Table 20 showing the sources of funds for education.

Table 20

Per Cent Distribution of Public School Expenditures for Seven Capitol Region Towns[140]

Town	% Local Funds	% State Funds	% Federal Funds
Bolton	71.4	27.3	1.3
East Hartford	76.3	22.6	1.1
Granby	68.8	29.1	2.1
Hartford	68.1	25.0	6.9
Plainville	69.1	29.5	1.4
West Hartford	78.1	20.7	1.2
Windsor	69.7	28.1	2.2
State Total	70.6	26.5	2.9

In Connecticut a much larger percentage of support for schools comes from local sources than is true for the country as a whole. But the point to be made here is that these data seem to show that federal funds are being spent where the need is greatest. This is, in addition, partly true for State funds—note that affluent West Hartford gets the smallest share of State resources. But, notice also that the tiny districts of Bolton and Granby get a large percentage of their budgets from the State, and that the City of Hartford receives a smaller percentage of State funds than the median for the entire State. Table 20 does not reveal, but Hartford received over a million and a quarter dollars of State aid for economically disadvantaged children in 68-69 while Bolton, for example, received none.[141] We know that in the country as a whole, all too often state and federal funds do not end up where they are most needed,[142] but in Hartford this doesn't seem to be true, particularly, for federal funds.

Despite these findings, there are some economic problems associated with education in Greater Hartford. They have been discussed in a recently completed study of the urban school needs of Connecticut's five largest cities,[143] and will be briefly summarized here.

First, it clearly costs more to educate innercity children than suburban children if equal opportunity is desired. When the initial inputs are less, greater resources are needed to achieve equal educational outputs. Special compensatory efforts are decidedly needed, and they cost far more than conventional programs. Hartford's extraordinary financial effort not withstanding—far better than is achieved by the other four Connecticut cities—not enough is being spent to provide for the greater need.

Added to this fundamental fact are the following:

There is a greater need for other services in the cities—health, welfare, crime prevention, fire protection, street maintenance, and so on. These services cost money, and demands for them are sharply on the increase. Dollars spent for these services can not be spent for education.

The school buildings in the central cities of the State including Hartford are old, crowded and in great need of repair and/or replacement. This, again, costs money. Funds spent on buildings can not be spent on curricula.

Transportation costs have been kept comparatively low in the cities, but if even modest amounts of intracity racial and class integration is to be achieved, then bussing costs will have to be increased dramatically.

Too much State aid is being granted in flat per pupil amounts to all towns. The State must spend a greater percentage of its resources categorically, and funding the most deserving would direct more money to the cities.

The taxing capacity of the cities and, particularly, of Hartford have been strained severely. Rates have reached the point where industries are moving out, and new companies are locating elsewhere; thus costs are going up and sources of funds are going down. Another part of this unhealthy situation is that City residential property is decreasing in value.

Education in Connecticut has for too long been too dependent on regressive property taxes. (To be sure this is true in most sections of the country.) Efforts to obtain other sources of funds have been blocked and new sources are sorely needed.

The lack of fiscal autonomy for school districts has already been noted. This study perceives this fact as a disadvantage but it is not as adamant on this point as is Hartford's Superintendent.

In sum, the Connecticut Education Council commends Hartford's efforts, but after making the above points, it calls "for massive increases in financial support."[144]

One other point should be made concerning economics. Mention has been made of flat State grants on a per pupil basis and of special grants to economically disadvantaged children; however, these are not the only forms of State aid. Connecticut also provides special help for regional school districts, continuing education programs, driver education, occupational education, school libraries, school building construction and remodeling, special education, tax exempt state property and transportation.[145] These grants use a variety of formulae which will not be described here, however, it should be noted that the amount of categorical grants has been moving up each year.[146] Further, the overall percentage of money for education coming directly from the State has been increasing regularly.

Cooperation and Coordination of Public Schools...There are regional educational organizations in the Hartford area. Some of the most important of these will be described later in this report. At this point, however, some examples of cooperative interaction that are not under the aegis of a regional organization will be identified. Most of the examples will focus on the City of Hartford primarily because more evidence was uncovered which referred to the City system. (It may also be true that Hartford is more heavily engaged in cooperative efforts than are her neighbors.) No claim is made, of course, that this is an exhaustive list of the potential examples.

Undoubtedly, the most important effort in the category just described is Project Concern. This is a racial and class integration program which involves transporting largely black inner city children to predominantly white middle class schools—suburban public and private schools, private schools in the City, and to City public schools that are not overcrowded.

Slightly conflicting enrollment data were uncovered from the various sources for 1969-1970 and for 1970-1971, but Table 21 reflects the general picture.

Table 21

Project Concern Enrollments, 1966-1970, and
Estimated Enrollments Through 1974
With Participating Towns[147]

Year	Enrollment as of Sept. 30	Projected Enrollments	Participating Towns
1966	255		Farmington, Manchester, Simsbury, South Windsor, West Hartford
1967	318		as in 1966
1968	746		as in 1966 plus Avon, Bolton, East Hartford, Glastonbury, Newington, Plainville, Suffield, Wethersfield
1969	812		as in 1968
1970	940-June		as in 1968 with three other towns about to join
1970		1400	not available
1971		1800	not available
1972		2200	not available
1973		2600	not available
1974		3000	not available

In addition to the suburban public schools identified in Table 21 nine Roman Catholic parochial schools in Hartford, Manchester, Plainville and West Hartford were participating by the fall of 1969. Two independent schools, Coventry Day School in Coventry and the Renbrook School in West Hartford were also included.[148] One hundred seventy-one of the 940 pupils being transported from their neighborhoods in June of 1970 were attending public schools in the South End of the City system, so, to repeat, this is an intrasystem as well as an intersystem project.[149] It should be noted, however, that many schools in Hartford are racially imbalanced. There is at least one 100% nonwhite school and one over 95% white school.[150] (Data on the ghetto character of housing in Hartford were reported in the opening section of this part of the report.)

Project Concern has achieved a national reputation. The periodic literature on urban education contains numerous articles on the Project, and the Office of Education selected the undertaking as one of twenty exemplary urban education efforts in the United States.[151] The staff of the American Institute for Research in the Behavioral Sciences, Palo Alto, California, have suggested that these 20 programs provide models for others who are interested in improving urban education.[152]

The early history of the development of Project Concern seems important in terms of the goals of this study. A quite lengthy quotation from the first Director of the Project, therefore, seems warranted.[153]

> Project Concern is a quest for an answer to the question that sears the consciences of American educators: How is it possible to provide equal educational opportunity for youngsters who live in the deteriorating inner city area. This is a problem which came upon Hartford, Connecticut, suddenly. A city of 162,000 people, it suddenly discovered that from 1960 through 1966 its non-white school population had doubled and was edging nervously over the 56% mark. It also discovered that those same phenomena that had been reported in so many other communities were now blatantly apparent in Hartford: achievement and mental ability scores were declining in the non-white schools; there was a clear trend toward a de facto dual school system with some schools all white and others all black; there were clear signs of increasing social problems such as higher dropout rates, increased unemployment, rising rates of family disintegration, and dependence on welfare payment. The acceleration of these trends in the Insurance City of America was such that by 1966 half of the school districts in the City of Hartford could be officially designated as disadvantaged. Hartford, in spite of some monumental efforts toward urban renewal, had become a city with all the symptoms that are contained in the phrase "the urban crisis". The symptom which this report tries to study carefully and to suggest some techniques for alleviating is the lack of educational development of youngsters who normally attend inner city schools under segregated conditions. It is a study of an experimental intervention to provide equal educational opportunity for these youth and to determine whether this intervention does indeed result in more effective stimulation toward growth.
>
> In a sense, Project Concern faces squarely two sets of data: first, there is the evidence that disadvantaged youngsters in inner city schools fail to respond effectively to their school environment; secondly, and perhaps most important, there is the accumulating evidence that efforts to correct this situation by way of smaller classes, better teachers, new curricula, special service personnel, and new physical facilities (or a combination of any or all of these) have generally been disappointing. Hartford itself had, and continues, to embark on a number of

such compensatory educational programs. The experience has been one of small gain accompanied by large disappointments. The easy answers have not seemed to work in Hartford as they appear not to have worked in other cities. The alternative to the compensatory education route is a simple one: Integration. But for Hartford the recognition of this fact came too late. Integration with the school population already 56% non-white ran the risk of intensifying the flight of the middle class white family from the city. While Hartford was grappling with this problem, it was also confronted with another. Many of the physical facilities of the Board of Education had become outdated, and it was clear that a program of physical renewal of plant was essential. A combination of these two problems resulted in Hartford taking a new look at itself in terms of its educational program.

In such a setting unanimity of position among those who were responsible for making decision would be extremely unlikely. It was not found in Hartford either. As a result, the Hartford Board of Education and the Court of Common Council of the City of Hartford with the support of the Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce contracted with the Harvard Graduate School of Education to come to Hartford, to study its problems, and to suggest an overall plan for future development. A team from Harvard, headed by the late Dr. Vincent Conroy, did just that and presented to the Hartford authorities what has come to be known as the "Harvard Report". This report made a number of suggestions, but among them was one which caused some disbelief when it was first read: That Hartford could no longer solve its educational problems by itself, but that it had to look toward metropolitan cooperation if quality education was to be provided to all Hartford youth. In fact, the report suggested that Hartford consider placing two of its non-white youngsters in each of the suburban classrooms in the greater Hartford area. The initial reaction was fast and negative.

Yet, not much later an extensive, continuing seminar sponsored jointly by the Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce and the Aetna Life and Casualty Company, gathered together the business, industrial, civic, and political leaders of the greater Hartford area to discuss common problems and solutions. This meeting, called the Town Meeting of Tomorrow, again raised the shadow of the Harvard Report and there were signs now of a quiet "maybe" rather than a resounding "no". From this Town Meeting of Tomorrow there began to evolve a plan of action that would incorporate some of the suggestions of the Harvard Report. The threads of this development are sometimes confusing and difficult to follow. Nonetheless, in general outline, it would appear that the joint forces of the Hartford Public Schools, Connecticut State Department of Education, and the Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce were strong and dominant. . . .

After thought and study, it was decided that the goals of this experiment program, later to be known as Project Concern, would be the placement of 300 youngsters, in grades kindergarten through five, in four suburban school systems, with the understanding that there would be no more than three such youngsters in any single classroom. The towns originally selected for invitation to participate in the program were chosen on a number of criteria, but basically the question was one of subjective impression as to receptivity to the idea. In each case, a letter was sent from the Connecticut State Department of Education to the local Board of Education because it was seen as an educational policy decision. This fact was affirmed subsequently by an opinion from the State Attorney General and by the legal counsel in each of the towns, all of whom ruled that Connecticut State statutes clearly placed the responsibility for this decision with the local Board of Education. This meant that neither a town meeting nor a referendum could legally decide the issue.

The receipt of this letter by the local Board of Education touched off a series of events in each of the communities involved. There was a marshaling of forces by both those in favor and opposed, petitions were circulated, meetings held, letters sent, and court suits threatened. The formal procedure of the Board of Education in all of the towns was to hold a public meeting which, first of all, provided information about the details of the proposal and, secondly, allowed each citizen an opportunity to express his feelings so that the Board might be aware of the local sentiment. The meetings were usually conducted with at least surface decorum, but in each instance the crowds could be described as "standing room only", and the intensity of the feelings ran very high. There were occasional episodes of both vehemence and viciousness. Generally, the tone of these meetings was more negative than positive. The basic objections voiced were as follows:

1. this is Hartford's problem and Hartford should solve it;
2. this is the beginning of Metropolitan Government and it will result in the loss of local autonomy and jurisdiction;
3. it would be better to spend the money on improving the conditions in the Hartford Public Schools;
4. the time involved in bussing would be physically harmful to the children;
5. the contrast between the affluence of the suburb and the poverty of the home would result in psychological trauma;
6. children would become isolated from their own neighborhoods and lose a sense of belonging;
7. their educational disabilities would be brought into clearer focus both to themselves and to the suburban children, resulting in a confirmation of their own negative self-perception and the negative perception of suburban children;
8. suburban schools are already overcrowded and there is no room to bring in outsiders;

9. the presence of disabled learners would result in the reduction of the quality of education in the suburbs;
10. the black community would prefer to have better schools of their own;
11. suburban families had to work their way up and then move out; if inner city families desire the opportunity of the suburbs, let them come by way of the same route.

These objections and the turmoil which surrounded them did not make the task confronting members of the various boards of education any easier. They were subjected to pressures from both sides, some subtle and some crude. The professional administrators in the suburban school systems studied their situations, estimated the potential space that might be available (since any youngsters accepted from Hartford would be on a vacant seat basis; i.e., they would occupy those seats which would not otherwise be used in classrooms which had enrollments below the locally established cut-off figure which was generally 25), and assessed the impact of initiation of the program on their own teachers and students. Through all this process there remained the recognition that at some point the confrontation had to come and the decision had to be made. In three of the original four towns (Farmington, Manchester, and West Hartford) the decision was an affirmation of the Board of Education's willingness to cooperate in this quest for increased educational opportunity for inner city youngsters. The fourth town, Glastonbury, declined to participate on a tied vote. The Town of West Hartford was the first to agree to this educational experiment and they did so in resounding fashion, while at the same time they established clear cut conditions that would define the nature of the program. Foremost among these conditions was a unique demand in the field of American public education: Project Concern must be implemented with a carefully worked out experimental design and must be conducted in a fashion that would permit evaluation of its effectiveness after two years. This condition, buttressed by a number of operational requirements, gave the program its initial structure. The basic operational requirements were as follows:

1. The City of Hartford pay the suburban town tuition for each child accepted and this tuition be equal to the average per pupil cost in the suburban school system's elementary program.
2. Decisions about placement in programs for Hartford youngsters would be the responsibility of the suburban school administrators.
3. In the event that the suburban school system should feel the program was not working, they could withdraw on 30-days notice to the Board of Education of the City of Hartford.
4. Transportation and administration of the program would be the responsibility of the City of Hartford.

> In this fashion contractual arrangements between the City of Hartford and each suburban town were crystallized. In essence, Project Concern pupils were to be treated as any other tuition child might be. . . .
>
> On September 4, 1966, these 266 youngsters, randomly selected from those schools in Hartford that had 85% or more non-white population, started a bus ride to the suburban schools of greater Hartford. The bus ride has lasted for two years and will soon go into a much expanded third year. This report attempts to document what has happened to those youngsters who, at 7:30 a.m. each day, climb aboard those yellow school busses that slowly wind their way through crowded and disadvantaged sections of Hartford and move to the affluent suburbs which are only a few miles away.

Discussions with various direct participants in this early history support the description above.[154] No contrary evidence was uncovered, so these researchers are willing to accept this summary of events.

Based on available empirical research findings the Project has been successful. Four groups of pupils were actually involved: group a, children bussed and supported by special compensatory programs and staff; group b, children bussed but without such additional support; group c, children who remained in ghetto schools but who received compensatory aid; and, group d, children who stayed in their neighborhood schools with their regular offerings and services. Achievement and IQ gains were obtained in order from high to low by groups a, b, c, and d.[155] Furthermore, the inner city children, we are told, suffered, "no negative psychological or social consequences."[156] Drop outs were few, attendance records were satisfactory, attitudes were good, extra class participation was good, and teachers were happy.[157] By far the greatest gains were achieved in the earliest grades. Black leaders have, by and large, continued to support the program.[158]

The money for this special effort has come from the State and federal governments, from the Ford Foundation and from the taxpayers of the City of Hartford. Suburban towns have, to a very large extent, had a "free ride." Indeed, they have obtained staff and services without having to pay for them.[159] Lack of money seems to be the major threat to the continued expansion of the program, now that racially based fears have been reduced. There seems to be little doubt that the suburban districts would flatly refuse to pay for the program by themselves; but, at the moment, the suburban schools who are participating point to Project Concern with pride.[160]

The Superintendent of the Hartford schools is energetically pleading for complete State and federal support for all costs above the per pupil costs for regularly assigned students in the various school district.[161] Further, he is requesting full construction grants to any receiving town for any facilities built specifically to house economically disadvantaged pupils from other towns and cities.[162]

From reading the local newspaper and from interviews these researchers get the definite impression that increasing racial integration through Project Concern is quite likely if the money problem is resolved,[163] and cooperation of this sort seems far more feasible than is integration with the southern (white) part of the City of Hartford. Even if the white communities in the city were quite willing to accept black pupils in their neighborhood schools, and up to now this has not been the case, the non-white school population has reached sixty-five percent, so Hartford can not achieve a racially balanced system alone.[164]

Four percent of Hartford's school children are participating in Project Concern now. By 1974, if all goes according to plan, the equivalent of three elementary schools will be transported to the suburbs. The relations between the suburban towns and the City in this project are expected to remain quite formal, i.e., binding contractual agreements are made between the respective school boards.

The title of the series of U.S.O.E. publications that describes the twenty model programs is, "It Works." This seems apt—Project Concern does work—but, of course, the numbers are still small and there is a long way to go to achieve significant racial and class mix.

By comparison with Project Concern, the other cooperative projects involving the public schools are of much narrower scope and importance. However, the following examples were cited by one or more source. This list, by and large, does not include cooperation with private schools, higher education institutions, libraries and certain other agencies because these are discussed elsewhere.

The Hartford schools cooperate with a number of community agencies in the procurement of economically disadvantaged citizens for career training programs as paraprofessionals. The district employed 283 full-time, paid auxiliary personnel in 1968-1969, a comparatively high figure.[165]

Hartford schools and community groups, particularly, SAND, have cooperated in the development of "Everywhere Schools." Local observers regard these to be "exciting free schools." They are formally and informally linked to Urban Renewal efforts and to community agencies in such fields as health, child care, the arts and libraries.

Several elementary schools in Hartford have been "adopted" by the Connecticut General Life Insurance Company. This process has involved cross visitations, having eighth grade boys receive their industrial arts training at the Company, giving instruction in business machines, providing inservice work for teachers, and the pairing of certain pupils with employees at Connecticut General.[166]

Hartford and Glastonbury cooperate in an outdoor education program for fourth graders.[167]

An inner city elementary school had 27 volunteer aides from suburban Temple Beth Israel.[168] There were other references to volunteer paraprofessional programs.

A good many Hartford and West Hartford elementary schools accept junior and senior high school pupils as tutors both from within and outside the two school districts.[169]

Apparently, there is considerable cross visitation by teachers of the Capitol Region.[170] This practice seems to be encouraged by liberal visiting day fiscal policies.

It appears that many Hartford elementary schools serve as centers of community activities. These activities involve close cooperation with community groups.[171] The Hartford Park Department is also involved. Limited cooperation was noted with other local governmental agencies. There does not seem to be much liaison between those youth activities and services supplied by various units of local government and those of the schools. None of our sources mentioned this as a particular problem, but neither did they speak of it as a strength.

Drama and music performances produced by some of the Hartford schools were presented in the suburbs.[172] This practice seems to be gaining in acceptance.

Many Hartford elementary schools have advisory councils composed of local citizens. Some of the councils are representative bodies with members selected from a range of community organizations.[173] The central office of the school district apparently encourages this activity.

One Hartford elementary school sent 16 third graders to a suburban home one afternoon-evening every week for "enrichment."[174] The hosts paid for the intercultural experience.

Numerous references were located of cooperation between inner city schools and the Community Renewal Team, the anti-poverty agency.[175]

A Glastonbury school and a Hartford school cooperate in a community education project involving visits by entire classes.[176] Approximately, ten school days are spent in the guest school.

Several Hartford elementary schools have Vista volunteers directly assigned to them. One school has 25.[177]

Extensive field trips by students and staff were undertaken. A wide range of community agencies and associations cooperated in these activities.[178]

The Central Connecticut Mathematics League was formed in 1968. Twenty area schools belong. The intent is to improve skills in mathematics through competitive activities.[179]

The Aetna Insurance Company is working closely with Weaver High School in the City. Direct instruction, particularly, in business subjects, by Aetna employees is involved.[180]

Numerous professional associations serve the teachers of Greater Hartford resulting in unnecessary overlap and duplication. At least some professionals believe that a regional base should be used in determining membership.[181]

The City schools and, particularly, the counselors for seventh and eighth graders worked with numerous agencies to make summer educational experiences available to inner city children. Seven private schools were listed along with the Children's Museum, Wadsworth Atheneum, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the Tobacco Work Program, and The Job Bank. Apparently, guidance personnel believe that many more opportunities of this sort should be available and that far greater coordination is needed.[182]

There is the typical athletic league—Central Connecticut Interscholastic League—and such special interscholastic sports activities as the Greater Hartford Cross Country Meet are common. These associations involve public and private schools.[183]

The City schools take pride in the degree to which parents are involved in the early childhood education programs. Each of the twelve Head Start centers in Hartford has a parent group which serves to keep "grass roots dialogue" ever present. There is also a central Policy Advisory Council for Child Development. These parent groups work with other social agencies in the community interested in child welfare.[184]

Likewise, the City schools seem to be quite pleased with their effort to involve appropriate persons in the planning and development of the vocational-technical programs. A Vocational Education Advisory Committee was formed in 1968. It includes the Senior Vice President of the Travelers Life Insurance Company, the President of the Greater Hartford Labor Council, a representative of the Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce and a person from the Connecticut State Department of Labor. A number of working committees have also been instituted with the pertinent interests represented—education, business, government, and labor.[185]

There are also work-study programs, co-op programs and an employment location service—all of which require close coordination with businesses and industries.[186]

The Hartford school district claims close and productive working relations with a wide variety of other community groups and agencies. Specific mention is made in the school planning document of the Blue Hills Civic Group, the Model Cities Program, Kiwanis, Boy Scouts, 4-H, Indian Guides, and the Junior Red Cross.[187] Three monthly publications from the central office are sent to large mailing lists, including the leaders of community groups. The publications, "Chalk Dust," "Superintendent's Tell'n Type," and "Action Report."[188] In addition, many building principals report sending their own publications. The PROJECT 74 budget projection for the City schools calls for a $70,000 larger annual commitment in the "community involvement" budget.[189] It seems accurate to say that the administrative officers of the Hartford schools with whom we talked were truly interested in public relations.

The West Hartford schools have a Title III ESEA project called Dial Select Information Retrieval. It is an individualized instructional procedure which allows a child to dial immediate access to recorded programs using eight video and 16 additional audio channels. Thus, a wide range of tapes and recordings on an enormous variety of subjects is always available at the twist of a dial. Local media, community groups, and at least one high school in the City of Hartford are connected to this sophisticated system.[190] If continued funding is secured, additional schools are to become involved.

There are apparently a good many examples in which the suburban school districts cooperate with each other in groups of twos and threes. For example, Windsor is proud of its relations with three other towns in a cooperative Nurses Aid Project. Windsor also shares pre-school diagnostic services with two other communities. But the Windsor Superintendent warns that widespread regionalism will be resisted by local citizens.[191] Other suburban superintendents told basically the same story. Limited voluntary cooperation among several similar towns is acceptable, but large scale regionalism is feared.

A few summary comments seem warranted:

First, school leaders seem to want more cooperation, but they believe their communities will be very slow to adopt any effort unless the local community retains complete control. Second, money is a prime issue. Local property taxes will not be increased voluntarily to achieve regional cooperation. Third, interviewees, educational leaders and otherwise, seemed to be united in claiming a lack of necessary leadership from those in power to push for regional cooperation.

It should be noted, however, that the Superintendent of the largest school district does not seem to be guilty of the no-leadership charge. He appears to have promoted regionalism at every opportunity. His speeches and writings identified in the bibliography are replete with references to a regional attack on educational problems. For example, in August of 1967 the Superintendent called for a "revolutionary" reorganization of the schools that might either lead to the (1) "elimination of the Hartford school district by shedding parts of it to surrounding districts, or (2) combining all school districts in the Capitol Area Planning Region into a single, 29-Town school system, or (3) establishing a statewide school system, thus eliminating all local school systems and 'artificial' boundary lines."[192] Both the HARTFORD COURANT and the HARTFORD TIMES supported a serious consideration of these alternatives.[193] Needles to say, nothing of these dimensions has occurred.

Finally, again, it should be said that business leaders seem to be unusually active in pushing regionalism and in improving ghetto schools. The insurance companies, particularly, seem extraordinarily concerned.

Greater Hartford, then, presents a picture in which some school districts are voluntarily cooperating with each other. Further, there is evidence of some school-community agency cooperation. There are also numerous examples of school-business interaction. Inter-cultural activities provide the emphasis. On the other hand, there seems to be quite limited interaction between the schools and such bodies as planning agencies and units of the town governments. Furthermore, as far as the cooperative endeavors that have been reported thus far are concerned, there appears to be an almost total lack of coordination. That is, there is no central unit or agency providing overall planning, order, balance and equity to these undertakings.

Higher Education

Overview...The reader is reminded that Hartford is a physically small SMSA; Connecticut is a small state; New England is a small region, particularly, if the sparcely populated areas of northern New Hampshire, Vermont and Maine are excluded. Also, as noted, intercity transportation facilities are, comparatively, excellent in the densely populated southern portion of New England. Hence, when thinking about educational institutions including those in higher education, it is difficult to draw precise and narrow boundaries around the Greater Hartford region.

Numerous colleges and universities of many different types are found in the immediate area. Table 22 provides some data on the degree granting, accredited two and four-year institutions of the Capitol Region. Central Connecticut State College which is two miles southwest of the Capitol Region is also included because of its importance to the Hartford area.

Other well known colleges and universities within an hour's drive of Hartford include the main campus of the University of Connecticut, Eastern Connecticut State College, Mount Holyoke, Southern Connecticut State College, Yale University, Albertus Magnus College, New Haven College, Wesleyan University, the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Springfield College, and Smith. In addition, five pages of the Hartford Telephone Directory are used listing vocationally oriented post-high school institutions of every conceivable type. Thus, the statement that,[195] "Hartford has a virtually unlimited expanse of [higher] educational opportunities," seems an accurate one. Interestingly enough, however, despite all of these institutions, only three states send a larger net number of their young people to other states for their college educations, and these three states have far more population than Connecticut (New Jersey, Illinois and New York).[196]

Cooperation and Coordination...Commendatory and critical references to cooperative interaction involving the colleges and universities

Table 22

Selected Data on the Colleges and Universities of the Capitol Region—Hartford, Connecticut[194]

Institution	Control	Year of Founding	Type	Enrollment (June '69)	No. of Full-Time Faculty
U. of Connecticut*					
Dental Medicine	State	1961	Coed., Gr.	17	N. A.
Insurance	State	N.A.	Coed., Gr.	522	N. A.
Law	State	N.A.	Coed., Gr.	689	N. A.
Medicine	State	1961	Coed., Gr.	31	N. A.
Diocesan Sisters College	Pr., R.C.	1949	Wom., 4 yr.	180	22
Greater Hartford Com. Col.	State	1967	Coed., 2 yr.	629	77
Hartford College for Women	Pr.	1939	Wom., 2 yr.	183	32
Hartford Seminary Foundation	Pr.	1834	Coed., Gr.	200	25
Hartford Tech. College	State	1946	Coed., 2 yr., Tech.	400	30
Hartford, University of	Pr.	1957	Coed., 4 yr.	2,323	197
Manchester Com. College	State	1963	Coed., 2 yr.	1,800	77
Our Lady of the Angels Jr. Col.	Pr., R.C.	1945	Wom., 2 yr.	30	8
Rensselaer Polytechnic Inst. of Conn.	Pr.	1955	Coed., Gr.	796	48
St. Alphonsus College	Pr., R.C.	1963	Men, Seminary	74	17
St. Joseph College	Pr., R.C.	1932	Wom., 4 yr.	576	85
St. Thomas Seminary	Pr., R.C.	1897	Men, 2 yr.	144	18
Trinity College	Pr.	1823	Coed., 4 yr.	1,350	142
In Neighboring New Britain					
Central Conn. State College	State	1849	Coed., 5 yr.	5,530	336

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*Hartford Campus—A two year undergraduate branch is also operated in Hartford of the Capitol Region are provided here. Numerous references to cooperation were also uncovered with colleges outside the Capitol Region, but most of these will not concern us here.

The Hartford Public Schools published a document in 1969 describing the "partnership programs" between the school district and colleges and universities. These two sentences introduce the publication.[197]

> A close partnership between urban schools and higher educational institutions must exist if teacher training programs and innovative instructional strategies are to be responsive to the educational needs of our cities. This booklet is a compilation of activities illustrating the extensive involvement between the Hartford public schools and . . . colleges and universities.

The fact that this booklet was written suggests the high degree of importance the City school district assigns to working closely with area colleges. Interrelations with thirteen colleges are discussed in the booklet. The following are included:

Central Connecticut State College (C.C.S.C.) sends student teachers to numerous Hartford schools, and there is an especially valuable relationship between C.C.S.C. and the Barnard-Brown Elementary School.[198] The President of the College is proud of this interface. He explained that federal funds have been attracted to support much of the project. Inservice education for the elementary school staff, e.g., all faculty members participate in the methods courses for the beginners, is a major element. There are also several cooperative research and development projects underway. The College teaches professional courses in Barnard-Brown for inner city teachers from throughout the City. Eight out of every ten of the undergraduates who complete this program accept a regular teaching position in an inner city school—a remarkable record.[199]

The University of Connecticut also sends student teachers to Hartford in all the regular secondary school subjects.[200] In addition, there are special programs for future teachers of the physically and mentally handicapped, for aides associated with the "Follow Through" program, and for school social workers.[201]

There are conventional student teaching and tutorial programs using students from Hartford College for Women, the University of Hartford, St. Joseph College and Trinity College. A training program for pre-school staff is a cooperative venture between the Hartford schools and the Hartford Seminary Foundation.[202]

There are several other inservice programs specifically for Hartford staff offered by Central Connecticut State College. The courses meet in Hartford schools, and Hartford teachers share in planning them.[203]

There is a Summer Humanities Program at the Connecticut College for Women for disadvantaged students from the three Hartford High schools.[204]

Twelve distinct inservice programs for the professional and non-professional staff of the schools are provided by the University of Connecticut. All of these are offered in Hartford. They range from improving basic writing skills to becoming a better school dental examiner.[205]

The University of Hartford provides advanced placement courses for Hartford seniors. It also has an "Upward Bound" program and tutorial programs for promising students with educational disadvantages.[206]

The University of Hartford also offers a variety of inservice programs including a special remedial reading project, a teachers aides training program, a new careers college project, and a "Follow-Through" project.[207]

St. Joseph College and the Hartford staff have cooperatively developed a research, development, and training project on life in Puerto Rico for prospective teachers. St. Joseph also offers a tutorial program for inner city high school youngsters.[208]

Trinity College has tutorial programs for both high school and elementary school pupils. Trinity also operates a teachers' aide training program for people who will work with emotionally disturbed children.[209]

The PARTNERSHIP PROGRAMS booklet lists 20 additional projects that are being planned. Some require outside funding. The range in subjects is wide.[210]

Perhaps the most comprehensive cooperative inservice program is HICUT, Hartford Intensive City-University Teacher-Training. The City schools and the University of Hartford have jointly designed and operated the project. Teams of experienced and inexperienced teachers, University faculty, media specialists, special service personnel, aides, nurses aides, librarians, school administrators and students have worked together in this extensive program. HICUT is supported in part by Title III funds of ESEA.[211]

All of the suburban school superintendents who were interviewed mentioned cooperative student teaching programs. Surprisingly they did not speak of other sorts of relationships with area colleges.

Central Connecticut State College, the Hartford Seminary Foundation and Trinity College cooperate in offering instruction in foreign languages. An attempt is made to avoid unnecessary duplication. Some languages which attract few students are only offered on one of the three campuses.[212]

Central Connecticut State College and the University of Hartford cooperate in offering music and art courses.[213] There is also a cooperative arrangement between the Coast Guard Academy in New London and Central Connecticut State College.[214]

Connecticut has a State Commission on Higher Education. It is composed of representatives of the four boards of trustees of the various State colleges and universities, i.e., one for the four State Colleges, one for the University of Connecticut, one for the Technical Colleges and one for the Community Colleges. The purpose of this Commission (which at the moment does not have any enforcement power) is to get the public higher educational institutions in the State working together. One respondent, at least, believes that the Commission ought to have and probably will have in the future a more powerful voice in policy decisions.[215]

Apparently, all the institutions in the immediate area that train teachers are participating in a new TTT (Training of Teachers of Teachers) program sponsored by the federal government through the Education Professional Development Act. The leadership for this program comes from Wesleyan University which is outside the region.[216]

A very ambitious cooperative project among the private colleges has been undertaken.[217] "The Greater Hartford Intercollegiate Registration Program was established in order that each of the participating institutions may offer fuller educational opportunities to their regularly enrolled students." This is a two year trial endeavor. There is no exchange of fees for tuition between the institutions or the individual students. Apparently, there is no specified limit on the number of courses that can be taken at one of the other institutions. The five private cooperating schools are, The Hartford Seminary Foundation, R.P.I. Graduate Center, St. Joseph College, Trinity College and the University of Hartford. Also, Trinity College and the Hartt College of Music which is a part of the University of Hartford have an arrangement whereby it is possible for a Trinity student to major in music taking all of his music courses at Hartt.[218] (This degree of cooperation among colleges seems highly unusual. As might be expected, it is apparently true that the State institutions feel a bit "left out" by these arrangements.)[219] Another interesting development coming from this cooperative arrangement is a Religious Studies program that has courses and seminars on almost every major and numerous minor religions in the world. Since many of these courses are offered by various religiously supported colleges, the student is afforded a wide-range of orientations. Another cooperative development through the Intercollegiate Registration Program is a unique five-institution Black Studies program.[220] One hundred ten students were enrolled in courses at neighboring institutions in 1969-1970 for a total of 419.5 units of credit.[221] A modest amount of intercollegiate library cooperation has also recently been achieved.[222]

The University of Hartford cooperates with a State supported drug rehabilitation center in providing instruction and counseling.[223] Also, the same University provides basic psychology and sociology courses to student nurses from St. Francis and Hartford hospitals.[224]

Trinity College and the University of Hartford are discussing the possibility of a joint masters degree program through their respective political science departments. "The offerings in these departments complement each other in many respects and provide an excellent opportunity for cooperative effort."[225] There is an existing joint credit program in theatre between these two institutions.[226]

Another group of institutions are working toward cooperative purchasing arrangements. Hartford College for Women, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute Graduate Center, St. Joseph College, Trinity, Wesleyan, Childrens Services of Connecticut and the University of Hartford are talking together about this possibility.[227]

The University of Hartford, has an arrangement with Hartford's Institute of Living whereby "psychologically ready" patients may take courses on a non-matriculated basis. Tuition is paid by the State.[228]

The public schools of Hartford and the University of Hartford are jointly engaged in planning a "university educational park." The Hartford Superintendent has great hopes for this operation.[229]

The University Research Institute of Connecticut, Inc., was founded in 1956. It is broader in scope than the Capitol Region, but it involves most of the area institutions engaged in research. It is funded by governmental and private grants. The purpose of the organization is:[230]

> . . . to marshal the relatively untapped and scattered research potential in Connecticut universities.
>
> . . . to provide a means by which the participating universities can cooperatively undertake research, development and educational programs beyond their individual capabilities.
>
> . . . to provide an agency through which the colleges and universities can engage in research potential in solution of diffuse problems of regional or statewide nature.
>
> . . . to be a catalyst in producing a synergistic effect on Connecticut's research talents.
>
> . . . to bridge the industry-university gap by providing a pool of varied research talents and coordination services for industry and business.

The Greater Hartford Community College and the Hartford State Technical College apparently work closely together. Easy transfer for students has been facilitated. The two institutions engage in joint planning, and a common campus is being discussed.[231] Apparently, however, there is no overall coordination of adult or continuing education opportunities among the numerous institutions that supply them.[232]

Neither public nor private colleges apparently have much contact with planning agencies. No formal linkage is required by law. CRPA officials regret this state of affairs and argue that on such things as the site selection for the Manchester and Greater Hartford Community Colleges, CRPA could have provided considerable aid.[233]

The Superintendent of the Roman Catholic schools in the region claims solid working relations with the colleges of the area and particularly with St. Joseph College.[234]

Trinity College and the RPI Graduate Center have a jointly developed five-year engineering program.[235]

Several respondents took the position that the relations between the private colleges were good, and that the public colleges were cooperating with each other due to State pressures; but, that not nearly enough private/public cooperation in higher education had been achieved.[236] Perhaps this is largely explained on an economic basis, but it is also partially a result of the church/state issue.

Another source indicated that the University of Hartford stands alone in its degree of interest in cooperation, and that this institution was providing most of the leadership among the colleges in achieving the amount of coordination that exists.[237] On this point, it is interesting to find that the University of Hartford has appointed a full-time administrator with the title, Director of Inter-College Programs. Still another interviewee after agreeing that the University of Hartford is the leader, took the position that the new community colleges would most certainly become major forces for cooperative improvements on a regional basis in the future.[238]

Colleges, universities and lower schools in the Capitol Region have engaged in many voluntary attempts to coordinate educational resources and programs. In this effort, the Hartford schools and the University of Hartford appear to have led the way. There are also some examples of cooperation among the informal and formal educative agencies interested in higher education. However, there is no formal consortium including all institutions of higher education, and there seem to be few if any direct connections between higher education and general or specific regional bodies, local governments, and community agencies and organizations. Also, there do not seem to be many direct ties with business and industry that are so apparent elsewhere in Hartford. Finally, these researchers found only limited evidence of interaction between the public and private higher education institutions.

Other Educative Agencies

Regional Associations...Two closely associated regional groupings of school districts in the Greater Hartford area will be discussed here. One is the Capitol Region Education Council (CREC) and the other is the Metropolitan Effort Toward Regional Opportunity (METRO).

CREC was officially recognized as an "interdistrict committee" by the Connecticut State Department of Education as of December 28, 1970.[239] Twenty-six town boards of education were members of the association at that time.

There are some highly confusing aspects of membership in the Council partly because districts may join for a year at a time and then withdraw. Apparently there were as many as 34 affiliated districts at one time.[240] (No specific reasons for the withdrawal of various districts was uncovered beyond economy, i.e., to avoid the per pupil charge requisite for membership.) The other source of confusion is the fact that towns excluded from membership in the Capitol Region Planning Association have been welcomed into CREC. For example, the City of New Britain which is in the Central and not the Capitol Planning Region as defined by the State belongs to CREC. Three other school districts which are not in CRPA are in CREC. Five towns in CRPA are not in CREC. Surprisingly enough, although some few negative references were made, most respondents did not seem to be concerned about the fact of non-coterminous regions.[241]

The official recognition of CREC as a proper recipient of State and federal funds in behalf of the subscribing towns was a major breakthrough for regionalism according to the Director.[242] It was a long time in coming and took much lobbying. This recognition required an amendment in the State education law. The situation is still entirely permissive—districts may join or not as they see fit.

A Hartford school board member who was instrumental in the creation of CREC gives this account of its early history and purposes.[243]

> The idea of regional cooperation among boards of education had been discussed informally on a number of occasions, but it was not until 1965 that any formal effort was made to bring this about. On December 13, 1965, the Hartford Board of Education passed the following resolution:
>
> > The Hartford Board of Education hereby goes on record as approving the concept of a regional educational council and authorizes its President and its Superintendent to solicit support for this concept by other boards of education and school administrations in the Greater Hartford area, and the Board hereby approves and supports the establishment of a committee to draft a proposal for the organization of such a council, such proposal to be reported back to this board for further consideration.
>
> This resolution preceeded a meeting which was held on December 17, 1965, under the auspices of the Regional Advisory Education Committee and the Chamber Education Committee. As a result of the December 17 meeting which was attended by representatives from a number of towns in the Greater Hartford area, further meetings

> were held by a small number of interested persons who finally completed a draft of a constitution by May, 1966. The constitution stated that:
>
> > The primary purpose of the Council shall be to consider problems, opportunities and programs affecting public school education and to assist the various school systems within the Capitol Region in a cooperative effort to improve the quality of public education. In addition the Council may consider and give assistance with respect to any other educational matters within the Capitol Region.
>
> The concept of the organization was that boards of education could join the council or leave it as they saw fit. The function of the council was conceived as an entirely cooperative venture to engage upon mutually beneficial projects. It was thought that joint services and functions would gradually grow out of this. It was not thought that any project had to be approved and engaged in by all members of the council. For instance, if five or six boards felt that a particular project was worth cooperative effort, they would be able to carry this out under the umbrella of the council. It was hoped that the council would develop a permanent staff which would act as a coordinating and administrative unit. Such a staff might carry out research projects and operate joint services where it would be advantageous and efficient for the operation to be carried out in this manner.

METRO was formed in 1966 as a Title III Center under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. It became operational in June of 1967 with the opening of the Educational Services Center on the University of Hartford campus.[244] The major activities of METRO are in three broad areas: curriculum planning and development, inservice education and the operation of an instructional materials and media center.[245] More specifically, a partial list of METRO's activities would include:[246] providing an inservice course and laboratory on educational strategies entitled "School Without Walls"; making readily available lectures on Negro history and culture; circulating a Negro History Curriculum Library; offering workshops in the instructional uses of television; obtaining consultant services on a wide range of topics; providing an extensive instructional media library; offering training programs on the production of audio and video materials; providing over 80 other inservice programs on a more or less regular schedule at the request of subscribing districts on a wide array of subjects; giving an evaluation and analysis service of teaching aids; producing instructional materials at the request of member schools; developing planetarium materials through cooperation with the Children's Museum of Hartford; operating a "learning center" for six districts to assist children with learning disabilities; operating a graphic arts center; and publishing a monthly newsletter which describes new developments having a potential impact on curriculum and instruction in the area.

Parochial schools, independent schools, cultural institutions and colleges as well as public schools may belong to METRO as required by ESEA. METRO has been necessarily tied to a regional thrust because the State would not approve most Title III proposals unless they were operated on a regional basis.[247] The fiscal agent for METRO has been the Board of Education in the suburban town of Wethersfield.

A curious and rather untidy administrative structure had thus developed. On the one hand, is a voluntary association of school boards, CREC; and on the other, a Title III center where policies were made by a group of school superintendents, but where the fiscal responsibility was delegated to one School Board. In its early days CREC was perceived as a discussion and planning agency while METRO was action-oriented, and there was no formal connection between the two. Both professional and lay school leaders were fearful of this dual and unconnected development, but circumstances seemed to dictate it.[248] Both organizations seemed necessary; if a start toward regionalism was desired.

A summary of these circumstances suggests:

School board members and other citizens feared regionalism if it was to mean any loss of local autonomy.

However, federal funds were now available to provide services that were badly needed, and local sources of money were in short supply.

It was not legally possible for CREC to receive Title III monies—only an elected school board could do this.

Fortunately for the cause of regionalism, the Director of METRO also became the Director of CREC. He saw as a major goal the strengthening of the CREC structure. In his words he set out to:[249]

1. Unfreeze the existing situation of the action-oriented project METRO overseen by educational professionals completely separated from the voluntary discussion-oriented metropolitan cooperative, CREC.

2. Move the two 'organizations' together to effect the cooperative operation of educational programs governed by cooperative action on the part of local school boards.

3. Refreeze the new combination by obtaining for it a state of permanency at least insofar as it does not revert to its previous state of separateness. Rather than conceiving of the result as a stable (i.e., immovable) agency, however, the refrozen state becomes a base for further development and change.

Three strategies were to be employed in this process.[250] First, CREC had to be given specific activities. The Director was quite anxious about not having "just another discussion group" that did studies which were ignored. Second, legal status had to be obtained for CREC. This was important primarily so that the organization could receive public monies from governmental units other than the local school boards.

Third, the Director knew he had to get additional funds for CREC both for administration and for programs.

Considerable progress has been made toward these goals, but they have not been totally achieved. METRO is still under the legal/fiscal control of a single suburban district; however, this district permits CREC to establish policy and make decisions for Project METRO.[251] As indicated, CREC can now receive State and federal funds. The Hartford Foundation for Public Giving and several local industries have contributed to CREC which has opened the door for receiving funds from other private foundations and associations. Tax exempt status has helped to make it possible to receive over a half million dollars of private donations in the form of equipment, materials and cash.[252] Local boards have agreed to pay 70¢ per pupil for CREC/METRO services—20¢ for CREC and 50¢ for METRO. Although it is apparently not yet settled, CREC is attempting to charge independent and parochial schools participating in METRO the same 50¢ per pupil. The Archdiocese has fought this assessment, and, of course, the complicated church/state issue is involved.[253] Some school districts are apparently paying the assessment for children living in their jurisdictions but attending private schools.[254] It should be noted, however, that CREC has no intention at this point in time of charging the consumer the full costs of its services. Indeed, the economy argument is consistently used to foster CREC/METRO's form of regionalism. So far, CREC has been unsuccessful in obtaining State funds directly to help fill the gap between local assessments and actual costs, but the Director thinks this will come.[255]

Also, CREC now is operating activities of its own, e.g., a preschool program for hearing impaired children. A study to determine the feasibility of regional assistance to local boards in negotiations with their staffs, lobbying in the State legislature, and development of a curriculum guide in Family Life Education are among other projects.[256]

It will come as no surprise that the Director of CREC/METRO thinks the organizations are now working together successfully. This view was generally shared, however, by the other persons contacted by these researchers. For example, one suburban superintendent praised the CREC/METRO services saying,[257] "Our dollar investment in CREC is returned four times in terms of services received." Likewise, the President of St. Joseph College praised CREC/METRO, and spoke in glowing terms about the benefits to the College of working with the regional center.[258] The Director of the regional planning agency commended CREC/METRO and said that he met at least once a month with the Director of the groups to coordinate efforts.[259]

One negative reaction to CREC/METRO came from the Executive Secretary of the Connecticut Association of Independent Schools. He thinks that the organizations have had only a minimal impact on the independent schools and that the CREC/METRO staff have lacked diplomacy and tact in dealing with independent school leaders.[260] A neutral and rather uninformed view of CREC/METRO was received from the top leader of the Hartford Federation of Teachers from the Executive Secretary of the Connecticut Education Association and from the Commissioner of Education.[261] While the majority of reactions were highly favorable, the sources of the comments noted in the previous sentence seem to suggest cause for concern. Also, even the Director of CREC/METRO seemed pessimistic on one occasion.[262]

However, these observers believe that CREC/METRO will continue to play a key role in the promotion of regionalism in education in Greater Hartford. To partially document this assertion, here are some of the major plans and programs for the future:

With leadership from CREC/METRO, legislation has been introduced in the State government to establish Area Educational Service Centers. This legislation would encourage school boards within a specific planning region to unite for the purpose of providing improved educational services more efficiently. The State would pay at least 40% of the costs for such services. Two and a half million dollars would be appropriated for this purpose during the period July 1, 1971 through June 30, 1973.

This proposed legislation has some highly interesting aspects:[263] (1) Service Centers would have to have a minimum of 50,000 pupils, K-12. (2) No more than two service centers could be established in any one planning region. (3) The policy making body of the centers would be composed of component school board members only. (This is a matter which causes considerable controversy in intermediate districts throughout the country.) (4) In a legal sense, the Center board would have all the rights and responsibilities of town school boards. (5) Non-public schools could join the Centers and receive the State aid, if they paid the same per pupil costs charged to public schools. (6) A town school board might buy a service from a center other than the one to which it belonged. (7) Any two or more centers could join together to provide one or more services more efficiently. (8) Local town school boards could decide whether or not they wished to join the service center as well as determine if they wished to participate in a particular service.

If passed, this legislation would obviously strengthen regionalism in education. The Director of CREC/METRO is optimistic regarding the chances of the bill.[264] CREC is carrying on lobbying activities in support of this Act and of regionalism, generally. Key agencies and individuals who must be convinced according to the leader of CREC/METRO are:[265] the Connecticut Association of Boards of Education (CABE), local town school boards, and Connecticut's Commissioner of Education. The Director has sought and has obtained the support of the Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce, the Capitol Region Planning Agency, the Capitol Region Council of Government and the Greater Hartford Community Council. (It is interesting to note that the Director does not mention teachers' groups, neighborhood citizens action-groups or student groups in his power play!?)

Another activity of CREC/METRO has been to try to assume responsibility for some of the interdistrict cooperative projects already underway, most notably, Project Concern. In this case, there has been no success. The City of Hartford, the suburban towns participating in Concern, the suburban towns not participating in the Project and some private schools who are involved in Concern have all resisted a CREC take-over.[266]

Still another current major objective of CREC/METRO is the development of the Greater Hartford Alternative High School.[267] This school, to be built on the model of the Parkway School in Philadelphia, would involve a wide range of formal and informal educative agencies and individuals in the educational process. CREC would be the sponsoring agency. (In most of the school districts known to the writers such schools are directly under the sponsorship of the urban school district and not under a regional body, e.g., Philadelphia, Rochester, Portland, and Chicago.) Both Hartford newspapers have given editorial support to this concept and have praised CREC.[268]

CREC/METRO are "on the go." They have to combat resistance to change, the forces of localism, financial difficulties, conflict with some of the vested interests of various key groups, basic value conflicts in our society and apathy. But despite the impressiveness of this list of obstacles, it seems clear to us that CREC/METRO will be heavily involved in the expanded regionalism in education that seems inevitable. As the President of the Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce has said, the issue surrounding regionalism in education, "is not if, but when and how."[269] CREC/METRO is a vital element in this development.

Private Schools...In 1965-1966, 17.8% of all school age children attending elementary and secondary schools in Connecticut were enrolled in private schools. The average for the entire U. S. was 13%. Only eight states had a larger percentage attending private schools.[270] Table 23 shows the State accredited private schools as per the 1970 CONNECTICUT EDUCATION DIRECTORY.

Table 23

Accredited Private Schools in the Capitol Region of Connecticut[271]

Name	Town	Grades	Type
Avon Old Farms School	Avon	9-12	Boys, boarding & day
St. Thomas Seminary High	Bloomfield	9-12	Boys, boarding & day
Our Lady of Angels Academy	Enfield	9-12	Girls, boarding
Miss Porter's School	Farmington	9-12	Girls, boarding
Institute of Living	Hartford	9-12	Coed, special ed.
Oxford School	Hartford	9-12	Coed
South Catholic High	Hartford	9-12	Coed
Watkinson School	Hartford	7-12	Coed
East Catholic High	Manchester	9-12	Coed
Ethel Walker School	Simsbury	9-12	Girls, boarding
Westminster School	Simsbury	8-12	Boys, boarding
Suffield Academy	Suffield	9-12	Boys, boarding
American School for Deaf	W.Hartford	1-12	Coed, boarding, special ed.
Kingswood School	W.Hartford	7-12	Boys
Mt. St. Joseph Academy	W.Hartford	9-12	Girls
Northwest Catholic High	W.Hartford	9-12	Coed
Robinson School	W.Hartford	1-12	Boys
Renbrook School	W.Hartford	N-9	Coed
Chaffee School	Windsor	9-12	Girls
Loomis School	Windsor	9-12	Boys, boarding

In addition there are over 100 elementary schools in the Archdiocese of Hartford located in 43 towns of central Connecticut.

Included in this listing are some of the most prestiguous independent schools in the nation. Their buildings, facilities, faculties, endowment, and illustrious alumni provide evidence of an elite, upper class preparatory education.[272] Many of these schools are trying to recruit students of various class backgrounds. They are also, some of them, in financial difficulties despite their former wealth and status.

The Roman Catholic schools are facing the same problems that are confronting parochial institutions across the country, i.e., a critical lack of funds, a shortage of religious teachers, and basic value conflicts. Note these newspaper headlines which appeared in April and May of 1970:[273] "Emergency Drive Begins to Aid Catholic Schools"; "$100,000 Sought to Aid Schools"; "Financial Crisis Deepens at Catholic Schools Here"; "Catholics Increase Tuition Again"; "[Inner City] Priests Ask Big Reform in Parochial Schooling." The last article charges that Roman Catholic schools,[274] "Have become havens for the white upper-middle-class student of average intelligence . . . havens from integrated public schools . . . A study of the reasons parents enroll their children in our schools would reveal a heavy emphasis on exclusivity, superiority, external correctness, uniformity and other matters."

The Connecticut Legislature passed the Nonpublic School Secular Education Act in 1969 as a means of providing aid to private schools. This act does not fully satisfy the proponents of aid to church related schools, but it would provide some essential help.[275] The legislation is still being challenged in the courts.

The Archdiocese has moved in recent years toward more pronounced involvement of lay citizens in educational policy making.[276] There is a school board serving the entire region, and all of the larger towns have local boards. In addition, each parish has an advisory council of citizens.

The most significant examples of interaction between private schools and other educative agencies and groups that were uncovered follow:

As previously noted, private schools, both independent and parochial, participate in Project Concern. The initial resistance from some suburban Roman Catholic parishes has diminished.[277] Cooperation in this effort has opened the door to other forms of useful interaction.[278]

Project SPHERE (Supplementary Program for Hartford in Education Reinforcement and Enrichment) is a program designed to demonstrate the effectiveness of coordinating the resources of independent schools for the benefit of inner city youngsters. Twelve private schools, at least three of which, are outside the Capitol Region are partners with the Hartford City schools in this effort. The City of Waterbury, southwest of Hartford and external to the Capitol Region, is also included.[279] Programs of SPHERE include:[280] intensive summer study sessions on the private school campuses that emphasize skill development; counseling; enrichment by exposure to cultural activities; year-round tutoring; and year-round exchange programs. Over 600 inner city pupils were enrolled in 68-69.[281] It was hoped that at least 800 will be involved in 70-71.[282] Funds have come from the schools involved, from at least 14 public and private foundations and agencies, and from a long list of individual donors. Title III ESEA monies are now being sought.[283] Area educators, public and private, who spoke of this project did so with considerable pride.

The Connecticut Association of Independent Schools (C.A.I.S.) located in Bloomfield serves as a coordinating body among 61 independent schools of the State. It works closely with the State Education Department. It is a member of the Health Education Council and the School College Relations Council. CAIS' Council of Business Managers is working toward increasing such cooperative business arrangements between public and private educative agencies as purchasing and record keeping. CAIS also encourages its member schools in their tutorial programs for city children. It helps to seek financial support for scholarship students—450 poor minority group children were on scholarships in the 61 schools in 1968-69. CAIS encourages cooperative arrangements with colleges and universities particularly through student teaching. The librarians of CAIS schools are organized for the purpose of promoting cooperation and coordination.[284]

Representatives of both public and private schools claim that funds from ESEA including those focused on METRO have served to unite the schools.[285] Both groups predict that eventually expanded public support for private schools will be achieved.

There were numerous other specific examples of public schools cooperating with private schools, e.g., renting space from each other, cooperative transportation, joint health services, and so on. These activities do not seem to be coordinated in any formal sense. Some observers believe that because of the large enrollment of the private schools in Connecticut and because of the substantial political power they have, the future of regionalism is largely in their hands.[286] That is, private school educators and the parents of private school children must be convinced that regional and State-wide efforts in education are in their best interests. This shouldn't be difficult. Working with State and regional authorities ought to be easier for them than working with over 160 town boards.

Libraries...At least 60 of the libraries of the Greater Hartford area have joined together in the Capitol Region Library Council (CRLC). This voluntary organization was the direct outgrowth of a study of the library facilities and needs of the region completed in October 1968.[287]

Two hundred fifty-seven libraries were identified and studied. This number included the State library, numerous town libraries, college and university collections, elementary and secondary school libraries, and a wide variety of special collections, both public and private.[288]

While many strengths of the library resources of the community were identified, numerous problems were highlighted by the study. These recommendations were made:[289]

> Cooperative acquisitions, reciprocal borrowing privileges, creating a regional reference center, central processing, eliminating some unnecessary collections, lengthening the hours of secondary school libraries, listing of special subject collections, supplying faster service of interlibrary loan materials, finding the means for increasing financial resources for libraries, increasing the holdings of certain collections, increasing the cooperative relations particularly between public and school libraries, increasing public information services, improving the services for "the disadvantaged (including ethnic and racial minorities, non-English speakers and new-English speakers)," and keeping uniform library records and statistics.

The major implementing recommendation was:[290]

> A Capitol Region Library Council (CRLC) should be established (a) to coordinate library planning especially at the reference and research level, (b) to conduct further library studies on particular problems as needed, and (c) to undertake experimental and demonstration projects.
>
> The CRLC should serve as an advisory council to other regional organizations, both public and private, in planning new or extended library services.

After some additional study and deliberation, bylaws were written, a membership drive was conducted, and CRLC was incorporated under the Nonstock Corporation Laws of Connecticut.

An examination of eight issues of the CRLC newsletter printed during the period September 1969 through May 1970, reveals many examples of regional activity.[291] A few of these are: the beginnings of a cooperative purchasing project, the employment of a reference librarian to work in the Hartford system but to service reference requests from member libraries, and the development of common borrowing arrangements in all member libraries.

In spite of the considerable progress along these lines some serious problems remain. First, a large number of the appropriate libraries have not elected to join. Even approximately ten of the town public libraries have decided to remain completely independent.[292] School and public libraries are not cooperating to the degree that the President of the Library Council thinks proper.[293] He believes that these facilities seriously overlap. Furthermore, there ought to be central storage facilities for the academic libraries.[294] Some fairly large business libraries are not members of the Council for one reason or another, and this fact has led to some unfortunate duplication.[295] There are still too many libraries that are too limited in terms of size and resources to be effective. The Council has not been successful in bringing about the elimination of these inefficient collections.[296] Many of the area college libraries are weak; some are "shockingly so." This situation demands improvement. Apparently the Trinity College library is an important exception.[297]

We were told that there have been highly useful cooperative library efforts through Title II, ESEA.[298] For example, ten regional model media centers are being planned to involve many educative agencies.

Again, in the library field as in so many other areas, Hartford seems to have achieved some significant voluntary coordination but more is needed.

Others...There were numerous other successful and unsuccessful examples of cooperative interaction among educative agencies. Here are few of the most important:

The Talcott Mountain Science Center in Avon was a Title III, ESEA Center serving the schools of the Farmington River Valley. The original purposes were both to avoid overlap and to provide specialization in science education for the local schools. Now that Title III funds are no longer available for the Center, it has become self-supporting. In addition to selling its services to elementary and secondary schools, about a fifth of the Center's income comes from the University of Hartford. The Talcott Center provides basic courses in astronomy, geology, meteorology and the teaching of science for the University of Hartford.[299] It has a professional staff of twelve, and is a teaching and research center.

Other Title III ESEA regional activities include, "Project Pep," Pilot Electronic Project in Music Education. This is a highly unusual "musical appreciation" effort. It involves public and private schools from all over the State, but it is based in Hartford.[300]

Project CREATE is a cooperative project in the arts for elementary schools. The participating agencies include the Hartford City schools, the Children's Theatre, several dance companies, the Connecticut Commission on the Arts, the State Department of Education and several museums. The program has continuously involved an artist-in-residence in each of nine elementary schools.[301]

Project OUTDOORS at the Natural Science Center in Manchester is also a Title III ESEA cooperative project.[302] "The overall objective is to train teachers to use the out-of-doors as a teaching resource."

The Children's Museum has been mentioned several times in this report. While there seem to be no formal or legally required linkages between the museum and schools, voluntary cooperation appears to be quite high.[303]

The State operates two vocational technical secondary schools in the Capitol Region—A. I. Prince in Hartford and Howell Cheney in Manchester. They seem to work closely together. However, Hartford school leaders are dissatisfied with these institutions claiming that they are too selective in admitting students.[304] Other school and lay leaders thought that not enough vocational education opportunities were available in the region.[305] One superintendent took the position that the need for expensive vocational education opportunities might become the strongest local force for regionalism.[306]

Educational television is coordinated through the Connecticut Instructional Television Council. Twenty-two public and private educational groups and agencies are represented on the Council. Four channels are operated—Hartford, Bridgeport, Norwich and New Haven.[307]

This might suggest that the educational television and public education are closely coordinated, but this doesn't seem to be the case. In fact, the relations with public school districts are haphazzard and causal according to the Education Officer of the Connecticut Educational Television Corporation.[308] Likewise, the relations with higher educational institutions appear to be thin. Finally, there seems to be almost no cooperative efforts between ETV and commercial broadcasting stations.[309]

Greater Hartford has a chapter of the Joint Council on Economic Education—most metropolitan areas do. These councils are combinations of individuals from businesses, labor and agricultural associations and academic institutions interested in improving economic education. A unique feature of Hartford's Council however, is that this is where it all began; i.e., the Hartford public schools were the first, the "centerpiece and prime mover" in the national movement toward local economic education councils.[310] (The Joint Council on Economic Education has been one of the most influential national bodies in curriculum development in the social studies.)[311] Six school systems, numerous area colleges, most of the larger local industries and several regional associations contribute to the Hartford Chapter. It is very active and conducts frequent inservice activities.

In addition to the special education programs that are operated by local school districts and those operated cooperatively by two or more districts, the State directly supports at least five special education centers in the Capitol Region: Gengras Center for Exceptional Children at St. Joseph College (mentally retarded); Hartley-Solmon Clinic at the Children's Services of Connecticut (autistic children); Newington Children's Hospital (visual perception); Sacred Heart High School (social/emotionally disturbed girls); and the United Cerebral Palsy Foundation of Greater Hartford (physically handicapped). Apparently these institutions cooperate closely with regular public schools.[312]

The State also operates a number of schools for delinquent youth including several in the Hartford area.[313] No evidence of any relationships between these schools and conventional schools was uncovered.

The Connecticut School Development Council (CSDC) is the research and development arm of the Connecticut Association of Public School Superintendents (CAPSS). It sponsors cooperative studies and projects, distributes pertinent research findings, and offers workshops for school leaders on research related topics. Apparently CSDC and CAPSS are important forces for greater State-wide cooperation in education.[314] These too, are strictly voluntary organizations. Indeed, the overriding theme in the coordination attempts in the Greater Hartford area is that of their voluntary, informal character.

Results of the Questionnaire

An effort was made through the use of two questionnaires to obtain the views of a wider range of informed persons than would be possible by interviews alone. A group of community leaders other than those we interviewed and a small random sample of public school principals were asked what they thought about the nature and amount of cooperation and coordination among the educative agencies of Greater Hartford.

Fifty-three community leaders were queried in this way. They were identified by two means. First, all interviewees were asked to name individuals with whom they thought we should talk. Second, a questionnaire was mailed to the "executive officer" of all organizations listed in the Yellow Pages of the Metropolitan Telephone Directory under the following categories: Political Organizations; Social, Service and Welfare Organizations; Religious Organizations; and Clubs. Eighteen responses were received in usable form after one reminder was sent for a 34% return.

The principals included in the sample were randomly selected from among the five districts whose chief school officer participated in the study, i.e., Hartford, West Hartford, Windsor, Bolton and East Hartford. A 25% sample was drawn using a table of random numbers resulting in a total of 28 administrators. Twelve questionnaires were completed and returned for a 43% response. (In both Nashville and Hartford, we might well have received a larger return if the questionnaires had not been sent in the summer when many people were on vacations.) Copies of both the questionnaires are located in the Appendix of this report.

Table 23 shows the percentages of community leaders who responded in various ways to the question: How would you characterize the relations among the institutions mentioned below?

Table 23

Attitudes of Community Leaders in the Capitol Region of Connecticut Toward Relations Among Selected Educational Institutions

1. Relations between parents and the schools their children attend?
   excellent 0, good 39%, none 11%, poor 50%, no response 0
2. Relations among public schools in Greater Hartford?
   excellent 0, good 50%, none 6, poor 11, no response 33
3. Relations between public and private schools?
   excellent 0, good 39, none 17, poor 6, no response 39
4. Relations between public schools and colleges and universities?
   excellent 0, good 67, none 6, poor 11, no response 17
5. Relations between public schools and mass media?
   excellent 0, good 50, none 6, poor 17, no response 28
6. Relations between public schools and local governmental authorities?
   excellent 6, good 33, none 0, poor 44, no response 17
7. Relations between public schools and the most important (respondent's judgment) community groups interested in education?
   excellent 6, good 39, none 0, poor 28, no response 28

These data seem to speak for themselves. They indicate that room for improvement in the relations between educative agencies is available. It should be said that except in the instance of public/private school relations, Nashville-Davidson County leaders give better ratings to the interactions among educative agencies than do the leaders of Greater Hartford. Obviously, it is possible that residents of Hartford have higher standards, but this is questionable. Also only a third of the respondents in Hartford think they are "well informed" regarding the public schools; the corresponding figure in Nashville was 48%. These researchers believe that these findings provide a challenge to everyone interested in improving education in Greater Hartford.

The respondents were also asked to indicate the most significant example of cooperation among educational institutions in the Capitol Region. Here are the responses with their frequencies:

Project Concern (6)
CREC/METRO (4)
Educational Park Plan and other activities with the University of Hartford (2)
SPHERE (1)
Student exchange programs (1)
Career opportunities program (1)
Teacher preparation efforts (1)
Head Start efforts (1)
Waverly High School/Community project (1)
Tutorial programs (1)
Drop out studies with YMCA (1)
Coordination of dental programs (1)

Some interesting comments followed:

> The attempts [at cooperation] are frustrating and are not carried out over a long enough period of time, nor followed-up sufficiently to be productive. The Greater Hartford area has the brains, interest and special talent (computers, artists, etc.) to contribute significantly to public school programs and curricula, but the schools either want to go it alone or do not know how to involve these talents.

After complaining about the lack of cooperative interaction among the various groups and agencies involved in education, one community leader put the blame on the public schools and said:

> It is reasonable to expect that many factors tend to make parents, officials, and others dissatisfied with the school system. Some examples that create this dissatisfaction are: (1) The constant change going on about us, (2) the emergence of minority groups and their increased concerns along with more participation in school matters, (3) the reaction of "all-white" school parents to integrated school populations (such as middle schools and bussing), (4) a fear of many

> parents that school attainment levels decrease as urban schools become more and more black and Puerto Rican in character, (5) the move to the suburbs and the increasing drive of parents toward private education for their children, (6) the concern over higher taxes, bond issues for new schools, size of new schools (concern over the control and discipline of students), (7) divided financial responsibility between Boards of Education and City Authorities, (8) dissatisfaction with school "beauracracies," (9) confusion over constantly changing new and demonstration projects in education and questions about their value, (10) the impact on individual schools—program, class size, etc.—of drastic budget cuts.

Another person said, however, that lack of cooperation was not the fault of the schools. He thinks the attitudes of citizens are at fault.

> There is considerable feeling of 'take care of your own'. Much needs to be done in this regard to overcome traditional attitudes based on 'our town', 'our children', etc.

A dramatic contradiction was evidenced, for Greater Hartford public school principals responding to this questionnaire were highly enthusiastic about the relations between public schools and various other educative agencies. Out of the 12 who completed the instrument, 11 thought the relationships between parents and schools were good or excellent; 10 believed that the various public schools of Greater Hartford were working well together; nine were of the opinion that public and private schools enjoyed good or excellent relationships; all but one thought that school/college relations were outstanding; 10 thought that the interaction between schools and the mass media were superior; likewise, 10 out of 12 opined that schools were working well with the most important community groups interested in public education. The "poorest" showing was on the item having to do with the relations between schools and local governments. But even in this instance, 7 out of 12 principals were convinced that relations were good or excellent. Three rated these relationships as being poor.

School leaders in both metropolitan communities gave considerably higher ratings to interactions than did laymen. While the sample is too small to make any statistically significant sub-group inferences, it is interesting to note that the least enthusiastic among the twelve Hartford principals are the City school leaders. The Hartford principal who gives the lowest ratings on cooperation says: "We face the problems typical of any school system with large inner city minority groups. There is no 'metropolitan' or regional concept here. Cooperation is in the 'tokenism' category with groups maintaining a very parochial view of things."

Perhaps it is unfair to end this section on this negative note? After all, much progress in the regionalization of educational efforts has been documented. In any event, the Hartford story must be brought to a close.

Notes—Findings in Hartford

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3. STATISTICAL ABSTRACT OF THE UNITED STATES, U. S. Dept. of Commerce, 1970, p. 839.
4. Ibid., pps. 841 & 857.
5. Ibid., p. 175.
6. Ibid., pps. 181 & 183.
7. U. S. Bureau of the Census. Census Publication PC (VI)-8.
8. Ibid.
9. POPULATION ESTIMATES - PROVISIONAL ESTIMATES OF THE POPULATION OF 100 LARGE METROPOLITAN AREAS: JULY 1, 1967. U. S. Bureau of the Census.
10. CONNECTICUT MARKET DATA, p. 82.
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12. CONNECTICUT MARKET DATA, p. 20.
13. Hastings, p. 20.
14. CONNECTICUT MARKET DATA, p. 20.
15. Ibid., p. 21.
16. Ibid., p. 24.
17. STATISTICAL ABSTRACT, p. 841.
18. Ladd, Everett, IDEOLOGY IN AMERICA, Cornell Press, 1969, p. 112.
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22. CONNECTICUT MARKET DATA, p. 24.

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24. Ibid., p. 37.

25. Ibid., p. 58.

26. STATISTICAL ABSTRACT, p. 217.

27. CONNECTICUT MARKET DATA, p. 46.

28. Ibid., p. 38.

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30. NORTHEASTERN STATES TRAVEL GUIDE, 1970, p. 28.

31. CONNECTICUT MARKET DATA, p. 54. The New York Times reported an unofficial unemployment rate of 8% for Connecticut on January 19, 1971, claiming that this very high figure was due to reduction of the fighting in Viet Nam.

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33. STATISTICAL ABSTRACT, p. 843.

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38. Ibid.

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51. Ibid.

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71. PREVIOUS PROGRAMS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS, CRPA, March, 1970, mimeographed.

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74. Interviews with Robert Brown, Robert Kelly, and Medill Bair, June 8 & 9, 1970.

75. Interview with Robert Brown, June 9, 1970.

76. For example, interviews with William J. Sanders and John Filer, June 8 & 9.

77. Allison, John, STRENGTHENING THE STRUCTURE OF METROPOLITAN COOPERATION IN EDUCATION IN THE GREATER HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT AREA, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1969, p. 9.

78. Ibid.

79. CRPA 12th year, p. 6.

80. For example, interviews with John Allison and Howard Wetstone, May 7, 1970 and June 9, 1970.

81. Interviews with Mrs. Otto Neumann and Otto Neumann, Jr., June 8, 1970.

82. A NEW DIRECTION FOR THE REGIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE, RAC, mimeographed, June, 1969.

83. Ibid.

84. Interview with Mr. Otto Neumann, June 8, 1970.

85. HARTFORD COURANT, pps. 1 & 33, April 10, 1970.

86. Lacy, John, HARTFORD COURANT, August 23, 1970.

87. The American Cities Corporation is a subsidiary to the Rouse Company. Rouse and Connecticut General are the developers of the "new city" of Columbia, Maryland.

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88. Lacy.

89. Ibid.

90. One professional planner told one of the research team that Greater Hartford Corporation activities were beginning to put the City ahead of most cities in terms of general planning.

91. Lacy.

92. Ladd, p. 146.

93. Ibid., p. 163.

94. Ibid., p. 175.

95. Ibid., p. 323.

96. HARTFORD COURANT, June 2, 1970.

97. For example, interviews with John Allison, May 8, 1970, and with Medill Bair, June 9, 1970.

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99. GOVERNMENTAL REGIONS, p. 5.

100. Allison, p. 6.

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102. DIGEST OF EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS, 1969, HEW, 1969, p. 9.

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106. Ibid., p. 40.

107. Ibid., p. 55.

108. Interviews with Wilfred Sheehan and Arthur Brouillet, June 8, 1970.

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110. CONNECTICUT EDUCATION DIRECTORY, State of Connecticut, Department of Education, 1970.

111. "Local Public School Enrollment," Bureau of Research, Statistics & Finance, State of Connecticut, Department of Education, mimeographed, 1969.

112. CONNECTICUT EDUCATION DIRECTORY.

113. Interview with William Sanders, June 8, 1970.

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115. Ibid.

116. Interview with Joseph Castagna, June 8, 1970.

117. Bair, Medill, "One Superintendent's Answer to a City's Education Problem," PHI DELTA KAPPAN, January, 1969, p. 275.

118. Hartford City Schools.

119. For example, interviews with Medill Bair, George Dowaliby, Paul Sorbo, Peter Roach, Robert Kelly, Joseph Castagna, and Eugene Diggs, June 8 and 9, 1970.

120. Interviews with Otto Neumann, John Allison, Arthur Brouillet, Wilfred Sheehan and Keith Hook among others, June 8 and 9, 1970.

121. Ladd makes this point in his book while discussing the Bloomfield and Hartford boards. So do Eugene Diggs and Howard Wetstone in interviews, June 8 and 9, 1970.

122. Interview with Howard Wetstone, June 8, 1970.

123. Bair, Medill, "One Superintendent's Answer to a City's Education Problem," PHI DELTA KAPPAN, January, 1969, 278.

124. All of the following among others argued this way: Medill Bair, Arthur Lumsden, William Saxton, Arthur Brouillet, Howard Wetstone, Wilfred Sheehan, George Dowaliby, Paul Sorbo and Joseph Castagna, June 8 & 9, 1970.

125. Interview with William J. Sanders, June 8, 1970.

126. For example, students walked out of two of the three high schools at the time of the Cambodian incursion according to the HARTFORD COURANT.

127. A STUDY OF URBAN SCHOOL NEEDS IN THE FIVE LARGEST CITIES IN CONNECTICUT, Study Group on Urban Schools of the Connecticut Education Council and the Educational Resources and Development Center of the University of Connecticut, January, 1969, mimeographed, pps. 82 and 83.

128. Interview with William J. Sanders, June 8, 1970.

129. Egner, J., W. Lowe and F. H. Stutz, REGIONAL EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN NEW YORK, New York State Education Department, 1969.

130. Interviews with Arthur Lumsden, Arthur Brouillet and Wilfred Sheehan.

131. Interviews with Robert Brown, Keith Hook, John Allison and Robert Kelly, June 8 and 9, 1970.

132. Interviews with Arthur Brouillet and Wilfred Sheehan.

133. THE CEA AND HUMAN RELATIONS, mimeographed, May 5, 1970.

134. Interview with Arthur Brouillet, June 9, 1970.

135. Interviews with Keith Hook and John Filer, June 8 and 9, 1970.

136. Ladd, p. 312.

137. LOCAL PUBLIC SCHOOL EXPENSES AND STATE AID IN CONNECTICUT, Connecticut Public Expenditures Council, January, 1970, pps. 32-35.

138. URBAN SCHOOL CRISIS, HEW, January, 1970, pps. 15-16.

139. Ibid., p. 14.

140. LOCAL PUBLIC SCHOOL EXPENSES, pps. 7-31.

141. STATE GRANT PAYMENTS MADE DURING SCHOOL YEAR 1968-1969, Bureau of Research, Statistics and Finance, Connecticut State Department of Education, mimeographed, 1970.

142. Many studies have documented this point. For example, see URBAN SCHOOL CRISIS, p. 21, and TITLE I OF ESEA—IS IT HELPING POOR CHILDREN? NAACP Legal Defense Fund, revised edition, 1969.

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144. Ibid., p.g.

145. BRIEF OUTLINE OF GRANTS OF THE CONNECTICUT STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION TO TOWNS OR SCHOOL DISTRICTS FOR THE SUPPORT OF PUBLIC EDUCATION FOR THE BIENNIUM, 1969-71, State Education Department, mimeographed, February, 1970.

146. Ibid.

147. These data are combined from two sources: Bair, Medill, "School Building Program, 1970," May 20, 1970, and HARTFORD BOARD OF EDUCATION ANNUAL BUDGET, 1969-1970, 1969.

148. Bair, Medill, "School Building Program, 1970," p. 18.

149. BUDGET, p. 138.

150. A PLANNED PROGRAM FOR EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS, Hartford Schools, 1969, p. 8.

151. PROJECT CONCERN—HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT, Office of Education, United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1969.

152. Ibid., p. iii.

153. PROJECT CONCERN—1966-1968, Final Technical Report, August, 1968.

154. For example, interviews with Robert Kelly, Howard Wetstone, Arthur Lumsden, and John Filer, June 8 and 9, 1970.

155. PROJECT CONCERN, Office of Education, p. 10.

156. Ibid., p. 11.

157. Ibid.

158. Interview with Peter Roach, June 9, 1970.

159. Interview with M. Bair, June 8, 1970.

160. Interviews with suburban chief school officers, June 8 and 9, 1970.

161. BUDGET, p. 139. (Rochester, New York, has a similar program supported by State and federal funds.)

162. Ibid.

163. For example, the April 15, 1970, edition of the HARTFORD COURANT contains a story about the West Hartford Chamber of Commerce pressuring the West Hartford School Board to apply for 195 Concern students for next year. The April 20, 1970 issue has a photograph of a "soul-dinner" hosted by inner city parents for the parents of a cooperating elementary school in East Hartford, one of the towns which only recently joined the Project.

164. SCHOOL BUILDING PROGRAM, 1970, p. 4.

165. ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE SCHOOL YEAR 1968-1969, Hartford Public Schools, 1969.

166. Ibid., p. 4, p. 27.

167. Ibid., p. 6.

168. Ibid., p. 65.

169. Ibid., pps. 16, 19, 22, 25, 27. See also the Superintendent's Annual Report, 1968, of West Hartford.

170. ANNUAL REPORT, p. 15, p. 18, p. 25.

171. Ibid., numerous examples are given throughout the ANNUAL REPORT.

172. Ibid., p. 17.

173. Ibid., p. 18, p. 19.

174. Ibid., p. 23.

175. Ibid.

176. Ibid., p. 25.

177. Ibid., p. 32.

178. Ibid., pps. 40, 53, 55.

179. Ibid., p. 69.

180. Ibid., p. 71.

181. Ibid., p. 74.

182. Ibid., p. 76.

183. TO LEARN: CHANGING PATTERNS, Superintendent's Annual Report, 1968, West Hartford Public Schools.

184. A PLANNED PROGRAM FOR EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS-HARTFORD 74. Hartford Public Schools, 1969, p. 18.

185. Ibid., p. 19.

186. Ibid.

187. Ibid., p. 21.

188. Ibid.

189. Ibid., p. 31.

190. Singer, Ira, "Audio-Visual Dial Access Information Retrieval"and the User," AUDIO-VISUAL MEDIA, INTERNATIONAL REVIEW, Vol. 4, No. 1, Spring, 1970.

191. Interview with Paul Sorbo, June 7, 1970.

192. HARTFORD TIMES, August 22, 1967, p. 1.

193. "A School System Study for the Hartford Region" and "Superintendent's Ideas Merit Study," HARTFORD TIMES & HARTFORD COURANT, August 24, 1967.

194. COLLEGE BLUE BOOK.

195. A PLANNED PROGRAM FOR EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS, Hartford Public Schools, 1969, p. 6.

196. DIGEST OF EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS, HEW, 1969, p. 66.

197. PARTNERSHIP PROGRAMS, Hartford Public Schools, 1969, p. 1.

198. Ibid.

199. Interview with C. Don James, June 8, 1970.

200. PARTNERSHIP.

201. Ibid. "Follow Through" is a federally supported program that attempts to maintain the achievement gains that have been made in "Head Start" (pre-school compensatory programs for the disadvantaged).

202. Ibid.

203. Ibid.

204. Ibid.

205. Ibid.

206. Ibid. "Upward Bound" is a federally funded program to encourage promising but educationally disadvantaged high school pupils to go to college.

207. Ibid.

208. Ibid.

209. Ibid.

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211. A PLANNED PROGRAM, pps. 15 & 16.

212. Interview with C. Don James, June 8, 1970.

213. Ibid.

214. Ibid.

215. Ibid.

216. Telephone interview with Sister Mary Consolato, June 11, 1970.

217. INTERCOLLEGIATE REGISTRATION PROGRAM, mimeographed, 4/20/70.

218. Ibid.

219. Interview with C. Don James, June 8, 1970.

220. THE HARTFORD TIMES, February 9, 1970.

221. INTERCOLLEGIATE REGISTRATIONS ENROLLMENT SUMMARY, 1969-1970, mimeographed, undated.

222. INTERCOLLEGIATE LIBRARY COOPERATION, University of Hartford, mimeographed, undated.

223. DARTEC, University of Hartford, mimeographed, undated.

224. NURSING SCHOOL REGISTRATION, University of Hartford, mimeographed, 4/2/70.

225. POLITICAL SCIENCE, University of Hartford, mimeographed, undated.

226. PROGRAM IN THEATRE, University of Hartford, mimeographed, undated.

227. COOPERATIVE PURCHASING, University of Hartford, mimeographed, undated.

228. Interview with Richard Smith, June 7, 1970.

229. Bair, M., PHI DELTA KAPPAN, January, 1969, p. 275.

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231. Letter from John E. Beckley of the Community College, July 14, 1970.

232. Interview with John J. Allison, May 8, 1970.

233. Interview with Robert Brown, June 8, 1970.

234. Interview with Very Rev. James A. Connelly, June 8, 1970.

235. TRINITY COLLEGE BULLETIN, 1970-71, p. 5.

236. For example, interviews with Medill Bair and C. Don James, June 8 and 9, 1970.

237. Interview with Robert Kelly, June 9, 1970.

238. Interview with John Allison, June 9, 1970.

239. Memorandum from Willis H. Umberger of the Connecticut State Department of Education, December 28, 1970.

240. Allison, John J., STRENGTHENING THE STRUCTURE OF METROPOLITAN COOPERATION IN EDUCATION IN THE GREATER HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT AREA, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1969, p. 18.

241. Hook, Keith, CAPITOL REGION EDUCATION COUNCIL, mimeographed, April 10, 1967.

242. Letter from John J. Allison, January 6, 1971.

243. Hook.

244. Allison, John J., p. 19.

245. METRO-AT YOUR SERVICE, mimeographed, undated.

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247. Bair, Medill, REGIONAL COOPERATION IN THE GREATER HARTFORD AREA, a speech, undated.

248. Interviews with Keith Hook, Howard Wetstone, John Allison and Medill Bair, June 8 & 9, 1970.

249. Allison, John J., p. 23.

250. Ibid.

251. Ibid., p. 27.

252. Ibid., p. 42.

253. Ibid., p. 41.

254. Interview with Medill Bair, June 8, 1970.

255. Allison, John J., p. 27.

256. Ibid.

257. Interview with Joseph Castagna, June 8, 1970.

258. Telephone interview with Sister Mary Consolato, June 11, 1970.

259. Interview with Robert Brown, June 8, 1970.

260. Interview with Nelson Farquahar, June 8, 1970.

261. Interviews with Wilfred Sheehan, Arthur Brouillet and William Sanders, June 8 & 9, 1970.

262. Interview with John Allison, June 9, 1970.

263. AN ACT CONCERNING AREA EDUCATIONAL SERVICE CENTERS, publisher not given, mimeographed, December, 1970.

264. Letter from John J. Allison, January 6, 1971.

265. Allison, John J., p. 51.

266. Ibid., p. 60.

267. GREATER HARTFORD ALTERNATE HIGH SCHOOL, mimeographed, August 6, 1970.

268. HARTFORD COURANT, October 13, 1970, and HARTFORD TIMES, October 19, 1970.

269. As quoted by M. Bair in his speech, REGIONAL COOPERATION IN THE GREATER HARTFORD AREA.

270. STATISTICS OF NON PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS, 1965-66, H.E.W., 1968, p. 8.

271. CONNECTICUT EDUCATION DIRECTORY, Connecticut State Department of Education, 1970.

272. See PRIVATE INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS, Bunting and Lyon, Inc., 1970.

273. HARTFORD COURANT, April 17, 19 and May 1 & 21, 1970.

274. Ibid., May 1, 1970.

275. Interview with Very Rev. Msgr. James A. Connelly, June 8, 1970.

276. Ibid.

277. Ibid.

278. Interview with Raymond Allen, June 9, 1970.

279. SPHERE, A PROGRAM OF INDEPENDENT-PUBLIC SCHOOL COOPERATION, Hartford Public Schools, 1970.

280. Ibid., pps. 9 & 10.

281. SPHERE, ANNUAL REPORT, 1969.

282. SPHERE, A PROGRAM, p. 11.

283. Ibid.

284. Comments on CAIS were gleaned from an interview with Nelson Farquahar, June 8, 1970.

285. For example, interviews with Raymond Allen and Robert Kelley, June 8 and 9, 1970.

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287. LIBRARY SERVICE IN THE CAPITOL REGION OF CONNECTICUT, Nelson Associates, Inc., 1968.

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292. Ibid.

293. Interview with Richard Morrill, June 9, 1970.

294. Ibid.

295. Ibid.

296. Ibid.

297. Ibid.

298. Interview with Raymond Allen, June 8, 1970.

299. HARTFORD COURANT, June 14, 1970.

300. PEP, SOUND UNLOCKS CREATIVITY, Connecticut State Department of Education, undated.

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302. PROGRAMS FOR THE CULTURAL ARTS WITHIN TITLE III ESEA IN CONNECTICUT, June, 1969, p. 12.

303. The newspapers contain numerous references to this cooperation, for example, the 5/17/70 issue of HARTFORD COURANT carried a story about a Summer Science Academy.

304. Interviews with Peter Roach and Medill Bair, June 8 and 9, 1970.

305. For example, interviews with Paul Sorbo, Joseph Castagna and Eugene Diggs, June 8 and 9, 1970.

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307. Mimeographed materials from the Connecticut Educational Television Corporation, undated.

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309. Ibid.

310. Bair, Medill, "Regional Cooperation in the Greater Hartford Area," a speech, undated.

311. Lowe, William, STRUCTURE AND THE SOCIAL STUDIES, Cornell University Press, 1969.

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313. Ibid.

314. Interview with Joseph Castagna, June 8, 1970.

CONCLUSIONS

Two urban regions have been examined in some detail in an effort to determine what they can teach us about providing high quality educational opportunities, equitably and efficiently on a metropolitan basis. The Nashville-Davidson County area of Tennessee and the Greater Hartford region of Connecticut were selected for study because they appeared to be leaders in terms of the degree of general metropolitan planning in which they were engaged.

Nashville-Davidson County, Tennessee, is a prime example of a city-county consolidation form of metropolitanism. For all practical purposes, this urban County now has one government and one school district; and, further, the schools and the government are formally and legally related. Davidson County also is involved in a modest number of voluntary cooperative agreements with other jurisdictions in the broader metropolitan region. Greater Hartford, on the other hand, has a maze of both informal and contractual regional organizations and arrangements. These are voluntary efforts. Strong leadership from business and industry elites has been fundamental to their development. In addition, the region has a "single purpose special district," as defined in the introduction, which serves a portion of the area (MDC-water and sewers). There are also numerous intergovernmental, interdistrict and interagency agreements. These many cooperative activities are associated with a wide range of services—utilities, health, general administration, planning, housing, social services, recreation, conservation, economic development, transportation, welfare, education in many forms, and so on. The Capitol Region Council of Governments, the Capitol Region Planning Agency, the Capitol Region Education Council, and the Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce provide a limited amount of coordination of these services.

So, these two interesting urban areas have gone about the process of achieving a degree of cooperation and coordination on a metropolitan basis in quite different ways. Yet, in many respects Hartford and Nashville are quite similar. Let us review the likenesses.

Similarities...In 1970, the overall population figures for the two regions as they are defined by their respective planning agencies were almost identical—662 thousand for the Nashville M.P.C. region and 669 for the Capitol Region of Connecticut. Furthermore, both regions are growing rapidly despite declining birth rates. The black population is expanding faster in the central cities and whites in the fringes. The central cities because of out-migration and the destruction of housing units are showing a decline in population. Hartford also has experienced a sharp increase of Spanish surnamed residents. Both regions are going to have a rapidly increasing over 65 age-group and also a young worker group. In short, these metropolitan areas look like the average of all metros in demographic terms.

Similarities of a geographic sort include: fertile river valley locations; an adequate amount of precipitation and a suitable growing season despite complaints about the weather by the inhabitants of both regions; no major topographic difficulties beyond the barrier created in both instances by a major river; confused multiple definitions for the regions; and central cities proud of urban renewal with new expressways and public and private buildings, bur resulting in less low-cost housing.

There are also important economic similarities. For example, both cities are state capitols with the resultant stability caused by a large number of civil service employees. Both regions boast of a vigorous diversified manufacturing base. Each is a commercial center, particularly as headquarters for insurance firms. Compared to their respective states and broader regions, these two urban centers are prosperous. To be sure, there is a wide variance of wealth among the neighborhoods of both metropolitan areas—the central city is not as affluent as the suburban ring. (However, parts of the rural counties surrounding Nashville and included in the diverse definitions of the region are even further down on the economic scale.) Both cities have housing shortages, particularly, low-cost housing. Both have experienced pronounced resistence when attempts have been made to build less expensive housing in middle class sections of town. The two regions serve as local hubs of an extensive highway, rail, and air transportation system. The Interstate highway network has profoundly influenced both cities. Also, they have water transport facilities since they are both located on a navigable river. An adequate supply of raw water, recreation facilities, and sources of inexpensive power are also associated with the river valley locations. Both areas have rich agricultural yields. Ironically, given the latitude differences, identical agricultural products are involved, i.e., tobacco, dairy, poultry and truck market crops. In both cases, the citizens believe that they are overtaxed, but the taxes are not outstandingly high based on regional norms. Business leaders in the two cities have been active in promoting regionalism.

Politically, both the regions typically vote Democratic, but there are strong Republican areas, particularly, in the Connecticut suburbs. A highly effective regional planning agency exists in both regions. This, of course, is a major reason the two areas were selected for study. Nashville's professional planners have more power since they can veto many public activities associated with physical planning. In each case, the metropolitan area has been able to obtain special state legislation necessary for regional developments without much difficulty once the local legislators wanted the change. Each region has a variety of effective political subgroups, and black residents, particularly, are becoming increasingly powerful in both areas. Black leaders in both regions tend to be cynical and impatient and with good reason.

On educational affairs, these seem to be the most important similarities:

The regions have a high per pupil expenditure by respective state standards. However, there is an enormous range in terms of what is spent per child among the towns in the Greater Hartford area and among the counties in the Nashville SMSA. Remarkably, in both cases, the central city child is receiving the highest dollar amount for his education. Compensatory attempts are numerous in both central cities, but sure signs of success are very limited.

During the formative stages of regional developments, both central cities have had very forceful and dynamic chief school officers.

Both communities are national centers of higher education. Local colleges have been anxious to work with educationally disadvantaged children. Also, private colleges have had quite effective cooperative arrangements among themselves. Public and private colleges, however, have not worked very closely together, and Nashville's public colleges are now facing very difficult and strained relations.

In both communities the coordination of and the supply of vocational/technical education and adult and continuing education were rated unsatisfactory by local sources.

The libraries—public, private and school—have working relationships in both communities; but, in each case, professional librarians and their lay leaders think greater coordination is necessary. In Nashville the cooperation is achieved through the local government, in Hartford, through voluntary efforts.

Agencies involved in the visual and performing arts are working with schools, but more, apparently, could be done in this regard. ESEA Title III money, particularly, has been a boon to cooperative efforts in the arts in both cases. Residents of Hartford and Nashville point to both an increased interest in and need for education in the humanities broadly conceived.

Each community has two daily newspapers with a degree, at least, of editorial independence from each other. Having both a "liberal" and a "conservative" newspaper is, unfortunately, rare in medium-sized cities these days. This is an asset for both regions. Of course, this is not to say that the newspapers have always been friends of regionalism.

In each case there is a wide variety among the public schools on such variables as class size, overall size, availability of an adequate library, supply of instructional materials, experience of staff, and so on. This is true even within Davidson County, but to a lesser degree than in the Hartford area. In both regions a good many schools, both elementary and secondary, are too small to be efficient or to offer an adequate curriculum. That this is true even in densely populated Connecticut is a disturbing commentary.

Schools in both communities are imbalanced on the basis of race, class, and academic ability. Efforts are being made in both communities to correct this situation. Indeed some school leaders claim that nothing more could be done without stimulating violence, but the fact remains that the schools are getting more, not less, segregated. These researchers believe that without the efforts toward regional cooperation and coordination there would be even greater social and class imbalance than there now is.

Differences...Despite all of these resemblances and despite the fact that these areas were selected because of their exceptional achievements in general regional planning, there seems to be greater variance than equivalence between the areas. This probably shouldn't come as a surprise since we know that the differences among American cities on variables related to education are wide.

> Indeed, differences among central cities and among suburban areas with respect to educational-fiscal variables are of the same order of magnitude as the differences between the average central city and the average suburb.

In any event there are many differences between the two metros which may well be significant in understanding the development of educational metropolitanism in these two communities and elsewhere. Perhaps all of these differences can be summarized by the word, sectionalism. Hartford, after all, is in New England and Nashville is on the edge of the Old South. These regions are distinct!

What are the specific differences? The following are the most important:

There are some major demographic dissimilarities. First, Hartford has better than three times the population density when the two SMSA's are compared, and the concentrated population of the area flows into other regions as a part of the Atlantic corridor of urban sprawl running from Maine to Virginia. Also, the city of Hartford contains a much smaller proportion of the total population of the region than does Nashville. This was true even before Nashville's consolidation; so, the city of Nashville has held a more dominant role in terms of the population of the region than has Hartford. Finally, Nashville has had a larger and, historically, even more isolated nonwhite population than has Hartford.

Perhaps this is just another way of making the point above about the density of the population, but, geographically, Hartford is a much smaller region. To be sure, care must be taken here as everywhere to define the region since Hartford County is actually larger than Davidson County; but the city of Hartford is much more compact than was the old city of Nashville. The Tennessee SMSA is almost three times the physical size of the Connecticut one, and the same is true of the two planning regions. In Connecticut, planning regions are determined by the State and are recognized by law. This is a fundamental distinction. The planning region definition for Hartford seems to have greater significance than any other. In Nashville the opposite is true. Only the professional planners seem to have much interest in the boundaries of the Metropolitan Planning Commission Area. More attention is given to the SMSA concept of the region and far more to the County.

This suggests a vital, political difference that has been repeatedly emphasized in these papers. Tennessee has a strong county governmental system; Connecticut does not. In addition, even before the consolidation in Davidson County, Hartford had a far larger number of local governmental units. This difference has been magnified by the unification that has taken place in Greater Nashville. The Hartford region has had a history of strong, almost completely autonomous, town governments. In these governments the executive has tended to have relatively less power than is true in other parts of the country. (The town manager form of government is beginning to change this.) Legislatures have been powerful; and, frequently, the people have demanded a direct share of the legislative authority through the townmeeting. Although "townmeetism" is declining in importance and power bases have shifted, traces of the concept clearly remain.

Also, it should be noted here that the political party in power in the suburban towns of Connecticut is often times not the party in power in the cities. Obviously, this fact can lead to tensions.

One final political difference—there seems to be a significant divergence in the types of community groups that are active. Of course, both cities have influential groups representing minorities, both have active business groups (Hartford's seems to be more active), both groups seem to have the usual religious, service, localized civic, and political groups; but Nashville seems to have stronger County-wide pressure groups. A broadly based citizens group was instrumental in achieving the merger in Nashville. The League of Women Voters appears to have strong influences on educational decisions. The individual chapters of the PTA, but, particularly, the regional association of this organization were credited by all sources available to us as being very powerful. Probably there is a reciprocal relation here—why have strong county-wide groups if there is no effective county government and vice versa? In any event, the leaders of the area wide community groups in Nashville who responded to our interviews and questionnaires seem to be: (a) more involved and more influential on educational matters and (b) more satisfied that cooperative interaction is taking place than were those from Hartford.

The north/south dichotomy is clear cut in economic terms. Both metros are prosperous by regional standards but not by national standards. Hartford is dramatically on top. Hartford also has the following characteristics while Nashville does not:

the national headquarters of many of its industries,
an interlocking business management system,
an overlapping taxing structure with a very high percentage of school revenue coming from local sources. These three factors almost

seem to require a heavy degree of business interest in regionalism.

How are the two metropolitan areas divergent educationally? Sectional differences are quite apparent in education. Tennessee is near the bottom on nearly all national measures of public education and Connecticut is near the top. This fact has to be borne in mind throughout this discussion.

There are some interesting administrative differences between the public schools of Greater Hartford and those of Greater Nashville. The City of Hartford has an elected school board; the city-county district in Nashville has an appointed board. All of the local boards in the Hartford area are fiscally dependent on local governments. This is partially true in the Nashville SMSA but in Davidson County the school board does have a means of going directly to the voters for funds over the heads of the government officials. This power has not been employed to date, but the threat of using it is significant. In Davidson County there are formal legal ties between various educative agencies and units of the local government. This is not true in Hartford, indeed, these agencies seem to be frequently working at cross purposes.

There are planned inequities between neighborhoods in Nashville in terms of the expenditure per child with the most resources being consumed where the need is greatest. This is partly true in Hartford in that city children get the largest share of the expenditures for education, but there are sharp differences among Hartford region suburbs that don't seem to have anything to do with need.

In Davidson County public schools have centralized administrative and business services. These same services are piecemeal and haphazard in Hartford. Nashville has much greater coordination in terms of curriculum, instructional materials distribution, educational television, and educational research and development activities. The inservice education of the staff seems to be more efficiently organized and more equitably available to all.

Museums and libraries seem to be more closely coordinated with the public schools in Nashville.

The Hartford SMSA has had approximately 30 largely autonomous school districts, while the Nashville SMSA had only a handful even before consolidation. Even if we count the dual systems based on race, Nashville did not have the multi-district problem to the degree that Hartford still has. One aspect of this issue , difficult to overstate , is that the existence of many districts results in many chief school officers and school board members and other officials who are quite pleased with their roles and the accompanying status. Many of them may well resist change for this reason.

Even before the merger, Davidson County had a unified teachers group. In Hartford, the numerous groups compete—they are a part of the national conflict going on between the A.F.T. and the N.E.A. They have no single executive officer. The various Hartford teachers' groups have different salaries, different working conditions, different problems (at least to a degree), and, from all we can tell, decidedly different views of regionalism and what the concept means for their individual welfare. Yet, it also seems to be true that teachers' groups have more power in the Hartford region in relation to their respective school boards than in Nashville. Connecticut is a more "union oriented" State and the collective negotiations powers of the teachers of Greater Hartford seem to be more advanced.

Hartford has a larger number of its young people attending private schools of many types than does Nashville. The relations between private and public schools in Greater Hartford seem to be closer and more cooperative. Funds from the various titles of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, and its amendments, seem to have been used to better advantage in terms of pulling private schools and public schools into closer harmony in the Hartford area. Hartford, too, could profit from improvement in these relations.

Nashville is only beginning to develop public kindergartens and other pre-school programs, while kindergarten, at least, is readily available to all in Greater Hartford and has been for years.

As would be expected given the lack of governmental or mandated coordination agencies, Hartford has more voluntary regional organizations. These organizations and agencies work closely even with the communities on the fringes of the region. In Greater Nashville, however, while the degree of coordination is high in Davidson County, relations with citizens of the planning region or the SMSA outside the core County are very tenuous and sporadic.

Concluding Remarks

This restatement of the likenesses and the differences between the Nashville and the Hartford regions has been intended to serve as a summary of the findings. Some concluding comments vis-s-vis the goals of this study also seem to be required.

The questions raised in this project were: How much cooperation and coordination of both a formal and an informal sort exist on educational matters? Who cooperates with whom? Why? How did these relations develop? Are they working? Is there a central coordination agency? How are educational decisions related to other public and private service functions in the region? Is there greater economic efficiency and equity as a result of the cooperation?

The writers have had their biases reinforced. We are more convinced than ever that if efficient planning and administration of educational services are truly desired; that if providing high quality education to all is earnestly wanted; and that if economical and equitable financing of education is honestly sought; then a coordinated regional, in these instances, metropolitan approach, is required. Such an approach will not just happen. It must be diligently sought.

Further, we believe that in large measure the improvement of educational opportunities in metropolitan regions depends on the nature and extent of cooperation that is achieved between educational agencies and other groups and activities serving the same public. Thus, the "good life"—economically, socially, educationally, ecologically, and politically—in our great urban centers demands a cooperative harnessing of all of the forces working together toward this end.

Reluctantly, the conclusion has been reached that housing and education seem to be the two service areas most resistant to a regional approach. Perhaps the reason why this is so is simply that these two are so important and so personal. In any event, the difficulty of achieving regional coordination in these two fields does not detract from the need; rather, it intensifies it.

Although the means have been different, Nashville and Hartford are making meaningful progress toward an equitable, efficient and economical metropolitan effort in education. Anyone interested in these ends can learn much from their experiences. This is not to say, of course, that these regions have solved their educational problems—far from it.

Although this claim is difficult to document and although comparisons of this sort were not basic to this pair of case studies, it does seem to be true that Nashville has accomplished a greater amount of regional cooperation than has Hartford. Generally, there seems to be more positive interaction between educative agencies in Davidson County than in Hartford County. Also, using the two counties as the base for comparison, there is less economic inequality in terms of what is spent per child on public education. Finally, community leaders in Nashville have given higher ratings to the existing amounts of cooperation than have similar citizens in Greater Hartford. (Obviously, we are not suggesting that children are receiving a better education in Nashville than in Hartford, for sectional differences preclude making any such claim at least for the near future.) Nashville's success seem to argue for a total restructuring of the local government including education on a metropolitan basis. It is entirely possible that some of the successes in Nashville are the result of the "Hawthorn" or newness effects of having instituted a sharply different political structure. But, if so, this suggests another reason for a drastic remodeling.

But, city-county consolidations, let alone complete metropolitan-wide federations, are simply not politically feasible everywhere at this point in time. Indeed, as noted in the Introduction a good many urbanologists have all but given up on the restructuring possibility. We are not inclined to be this pessimistic; nevertheless, for many communities the voluntary model provides the best promise. Hartford supplies a good example for these communities.

Make no mistake, however, even the voluntary model is going to be difficult to achieve in most metropolitan regions. There are forces, highly significant forces, that are going to resist vigorously all movements toward regionalism. Based on what we have seen in Nashville and Hartford and on our research on other forms of regionalism in education, the following seem to be, in outline form, the most important of these forces:

1. Fear of change, all change—"status quoism."
2. White racism.
3. Black pride and, to a lesser extent, the pride of other minority-groups.
4. Localism or provincialism.
5. Belief that local involvement and concern will be lost because of bigness.
6. Belief in economic disadvantages—decline of property values, loss of or greater competition for jobs resulting in reduced income, higher taxes, declining markets.
7. Concern over a potential loss in status on the part of educators, government workers and local politicians.
8. Constitutional and other legal issues involved in the coordination of public and private agencies and institutions.
9. Lack of local and state leadership.
10. Totally inadequate and inequitable means presently used to finance education locally.

These forces must be dealt with and countered if any meaningful regional effort is to be successfully implemented.

The writers have concluded that the list below contains the absolutely essential conditions necessary for achieving a viable form of regionalism in education. Nearly all metropolitan areas seem to meet the demographic, geographic, economic and social conditions. We urgently need to resolve the issues that are blocking the attainment of sound metropolitanism in education.

Presence of one or more regional planning agencies administratively independent, and capable of drawing on both public and private funding sources. The professional planners must be in position to make their influence felt.

An "adequate" population base. Precision is neither possible nor desirable. However, there must be a population base sufficient to offer a sound and varied educational program without waste and inefficiency. It is likely that too small a population base will be more detrimental than too large a base. The potential problems created by bigness can be resolved by creating effective sub-units.

Some system for coordinating local government units, including the educational units, in a coherent pattern.

An efficient, safe, and environmentally sound transportation network tying together all population centers. A "reasonable" transportation time from all points to the center core—probably not more than 60 minutes. An "adequate" external transportation system is also essential.

A "sound" economic base—markets, employment opportunities, resources, diversification, financial institutions—in short, adequate production and distribution facilities for goods and services.

Absence of severely crippling topographical barriers or geographic features if possible, with solutions found for normal problems posed by such conditions.

Presence in the region of sufficient "quality of life" resources to support and expand educational resources—fine arts, recreation, green spaces, etc.

Absence of any school districts seemed to be too small for efficient and effective operation in the interests of quality education.

Presence in the region of readily accessible community colleges or equivalent institutions.

Availability of all vital public services—health, social services, libraries, sanitation, water utilities—to the people of the region.

A Regional Education Council (unit of educational governance) with sufficient power to accomplish its goals, and broadly representative of the regional population. Members of this policy making body might be selected by constituent school boards, or county or regional government, or the county executive officer, or be elected, or be chosen in some other manner. There are already a number of viable models.

The Regional Education Council to have both planning and operational powers. It will, presumably, handle such matters as negotiations, educational technology, research and development, curriculum development, inservice education, special education, occupational education, taxation and finance planning. Local school districts would be responsible for all matters which are best managed locally.

A single strong educational executive, selected by the Regional Education Council, and responsible for general educational planning and development as well as those educational operations under the jurisdiction of the R.E.C.

The Regional Education Council to be ultimately responsible for the community college through the mechanism of a college board of trustees.

Presence of a number of diverse educational agencies (private schools, performing arts groups, museums, libraries, pre-school programs, extension services, private and public four-year colleges, etc.). A coherent scheme of coordination of educative agencies through the Regional Education Council.

A single fiscal unit for education would be desirable, and this might be part of a regional fiscal unit affecting all public services and programs. This means that fiscal planning and budgeting, assessment and taxing would be conducted on a regional basis.

Mechanisms for citizen involvement locally and at other points in the regional system.

Representation in the State Legislature. Ideally, this would mean that a region would be roughly coterminous with an Assembly District (New York State). Obviously, an education region should not be based primarily on this criterion.

Close cooperation among Regional Education Councils and between each Council and State and federal education agencies.

We believe that the citizens of Greater Nashville and of Greater Hartford are helping toshow us several ways toward achieving these necessary conditions.

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APPENDIX PERSONS INTERVIEWED

Nashville

Richard Battle, Reporter and Community Leader
Leonard Beach, Dean of Institutional Relations, Vanderbilt University
Robert Bogen, Development Officer of Tennessee State University and former Executive Secretary of the Nashville Teachers' Association
R. E. Brinkley, Deputy Commissioner of Education for the State Tennessee
L. Linton Deck, Asst. Superintendent for Instruction for the Metropolitan Schools
K. Harlan Dodson, School Board Member and Community Leader
C. R. Dorrier, Chairman of the Metropolitan School Board
Charles Frazier, Acting Director of the Metropolitan Schools
Henry H. Hill, Former President of George Peabody College for Teachers and Chairman of the Transition Board for the Metropolitan Schools
Robert Horton, Fiscal Adm. Asst. to the Mayor
Richard Layton, Executive Director of the Nashville Teachers' Assocaition
Edwin H. Mitchell, Community Leader
M. D. Neeley, Coor. of Special Projects in the Metropolitan Schools
Robert G. Neil, Director of MID-TENN, Ttile III Supplementary Education Center
Finis Nelson, Community Leader
Robert Pasley, Director Metropolitan Planning Commission
William H. Patterson, Superintendent, District 2, Metro Schools
Mrs. J. D. Sanders, Community Leader
David Marshall, Director of Libraries
Mrs. James Todd, Community Leader
A. P. Torrence, President, Tenn. State University
G. W. Waters, Superintendent, District 1, Metro. Schools
William Wright, Superintendent, District 3, Metro. Schools

PERSONS INTERVIEWED Continued

Hartford

Raymond Allen, Adm. Asst. to the Superintendent of the Roman Catholic Schools
John J. Allison, Director of the Capitol Region Education Council
Medill Bair, Superintendent, Hartford Public Schools
Arthur Brouillet, Executive Secretary, American Federation of Teachers, Local 1018
Robert Brown, Director, Capitol Region Planning Agency
Joseph P. Castagna, Superintendent, Bolton Public Schools
Rt. Rev. James A. Connelly, Superintendent of the Roman Catholic Schools
Sister Mary Consolato, President, St. Joseph College
Eugene A. Diggs, Superintendent, East Hartford Public Schools
Diane Dogan, Director, Project 74, Hartford Schools
George Dowaliby, Asst. Superintendent, Hartford Schools
Nelson P. Farquahar, Exec. Secretary, Connecticut Assoc. of Independent Schools
John Filer, Community Leader
Donald J. Flight, Education Officer of the Connecticut Educational Television Corp.
Dana Hanson, Director, Capitol Region Council of Governments
Keith Hook, School Board Member and Community Leader
C. Don James, President, Central Connecticut State College
Robert Kelly, Deputy Superintendent, Hartford Schools
Rev. David P. Kern, Director, Project SPHERE
Arthur Lumsden, Community Leader
Richard Morrill, President, Capitol Region Library Council
Otto Neumann,Jr. & Mrs. Otto Neumann, Sr. , Community Leader
Peter Roach, Asst. to the Superintendent, Hartford Schools
William J. Sanders, Commissioner of Education
Wilfred Sheehan, Executive Secretary, Connecticut Education Association
Richard E. Smith, Director of Inter-College Programs, University of Hartford
Paul J. Sorbo, Superintendent, Windsor Public Schools
Howard J. Wetstone, Community Leader

INVOLVEMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

INSTRUCTIONS:

Please check (✓) the appropriate spaces in items 1, and 3 and write in your response to number 2. Item 4 is an optional opportunity to express yourself more fully. Return your questionnaire in the enclosed envelope as soon as possible. Thank you.

1. How would you characterize the relations among the institutions mentioned below?

1.1 Between parents of public school children and the schools their children attend?

_____ excellent relations _____ good relations

_____ no relations _____ poor relations _____ do not know

1.2 Among the various public schools of the metropolitan community either within the same district (Nashville) or among various districts?

_____ excellent relations _____ good relations

_____ no relations _____ poor relations _____ do not know

1.3 Between public schools and private schools?

_____ excellent relations _____ good relations

_____ no relations _____ poor relations _____ do not know

1.4 Between public schools and higher educational institutions?

_____ excellent relations _____ good relations

_____ no relations _____ poor relations _____ do not know

1.5 Between public schools and the media (newspapers, television, etc.)?

_____ excellent relations _____ good relations

_____ no relations _____ poor relations _____ do not know

1.6 Between public schools and local governmental authorities such as legislative groups and elected and appointed officials and boards?

_____ excellent relations _____ good relations

_____ no relations _____ poor relations _____ do not know

1.7 Between public schools and the most important (in your judgment) of the community groups interested in education?

_____ excellent relations _____ good relations

_____ no relations _____ poor relations _____ do not know

2. Please list the most significant (in your judgment) example of cooperation among educational institutions in your community.

____

____

3. How would you characterize your personal (or your group's) involvement in the example you selected for number 2 above?

____ active, direct involvement

____ minimal, secondary involvement

____ no involvement

____ do not know

4. How well informed do you regard yourself to be concerning the goals and activities of the local public schools?

____ well informed

____ partially informed

____ poorly informed

____ not informed

5. We encourage you to assess the attempts by educational groups and institutions in your community to cooperate with one another on the reverse side of this sheet.

____
NAME (optional)

____
ADDRESS (optional)

____
ZIP CODE

____
NAME OF THE GROUP (if any) TO WHICH THIS INQUIRY WAS ADDRESSED (optional)

WTLmr
7/70

INVOLVEMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

INSTRUCTIONS:

Please check (✓) the appropriate spaces in items 1, and 3 and write in your response to number 2. Item 4 is an optional opportunity to express yourself more fully. Return your questionnaire in the enclosed envelope as soon as possible. Thank you.

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1.1 Between parents of public school children and the schools their children attend?

_____ excellent relations _____ good relations
_____ no relations _____ poor relations _____ do not know

1.2 Among the various public schools of the metropolitan community either within the same district (Nashville) or among various districts?

_____ excellent relations _____ good relations
_____ no relations _____ poor relations _____ do not know

1.3 Between public schools and private schools?

_____ excellent relations _____ good relations
_____ no relations _____ poor relations _____ do not know

1.4 Between public schools and higher educational institutions?

_____ excellent relations _____ good relations
_____ no relations _____ poor relations _____ do not know

1.5 Between public schools and the media (newspapers, television, etc.)?

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_____ no relations _____ poor relations _____ do not know

1.6 Between public schools and local governmental authorities such as legislative groups and elected and appointed officials and boards?

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_____ no relations _____ poor relations _____ do not know

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_____ excellent relations _____ good relations
_____ no relations _____ poor relations _____ do not know

2. Please list the most significant (in your judgment) example of cooperation among educational institutions in your community.

____

____

____

3. How would you characterize your personal involvement in the example you selected for number 2 above?

____ active, direct involvement ____ no involvement

____ minimal, secondary involvement ____ do not know

4. We encourage you to assess the attempts by educational groups and institutions in your community to cooperate with one another on the reverse side of this sheet.

____
NAME (optional)

____
ADDRESS (optional)

____
ZIP CODE

WTLmr
7/70

METRO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 1 Central City C.S.O.

1. Please provide an historical sketch of the attempts to regionalize public education in this region. If appropriate, show how non-public educative agencies have been involved.

2. At the present time, tell us, specifically does your school district relate to other public and private educative agencies in the region--formally and informally? Other public schools (sub-regional systems in Nashville)? Private lower schools? Higher Education? Media? Regional centers? Libraries? Museums? Adult education centers? Youth groups? Others?

3. What are the specific purposes of these relations? (Economy? Efficiency? Equalization of opportunity? To attract more funds? Sociological mix? To provide for specialized needs? R & D? Resource centers? To provide specialists? Others?)
Interviewer, do not supply these potential answers.

4. What is your assessment of these relations? Should they be expanded? Changed? Reduced? What are the supportive and blocking forces? What has actually been accomplished as a result of these relations? What problems remain? What should be done in the future?

5. In detail, what procedures and mechanisms are employed at the present time to achieve the interaction that exists? Who are the leaders? Who meets with whom--formally and informally? How is government involved? How are economic, social, political and civic groups involved? How are students, teachers, parents and Board members involved? How are professional planners involved? Who is not involved who ought to be? How do these procedures and mechanisms need to be changed? How do you communicate within the region on educational matters?

6. AS TIME PERMITS:
How are each of the following related to metro developments?
R & D? Inservice ed.? Ed. tech.? Teacher negotiations? Sociological mix? Funding? Business procedures? Occupational ed.? Special ed.? Specialized curricula? Site location? Long range planning?

METRO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 2 C.S.O.'s (suburban and sub-regional)
and School Board Members

1. To what extent does your district relate, formally and informally, with other educative agencies in the metropolitan region? Other public schools (important in Nashville to see how sub-regional systems relate)? Private lower schools? Colleges and universities? Regional offices such as Title III Centers? Museums? Libraries? Educational media? Adult education centers? Youth groups? Others?

2. What is the purpose of these relations? (Economy? Equality of opportunity? Specialized services and needs? Sociological mix? Other? Do not supply potential answers.) Were these relations forced on the schools?

3. How well are these relations working? Should they be expanded? Reduced? What are the important facilitating and blocking forces? What has been accomplished?* What are the problems? What are the plans for the future? What should be done?

4. In detail, what procedures and mechanisms are used to achieve the present degree of interaction? Leaders? Associations? Meetings? PR? Who--parents? Students? Faculty? Administrators? Political leaders? Board members? Economic leaders? Leaders of community groups? Planners? Others? Who should be involved who is not? How do the procedures need to be changed?

5. Encourage free talk--Possibilities: History of the situation? Relations with central city government and power structure? Socio-economic nature of the community? Local problems? Educational innovations and quality of the schools? Needs of the schools?

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*Any significant accomplishments in: R & D? Occupational education? Business procedures? Educational technology? Teacher negotiations? In-service education? Racial and class mix? Humanities? Getting more money for schools?

METRO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 3 Leaders of Non-Public Schools and Colleges, Museums, Libraries

1. To what extent does your institution relate, formally and informally, with other educative agencies in the metropolitan region? With public schools? Private lower schools? (Other) Regional offices such as the Title III Center? Museums? Libraries? Educational media? Adult education centers? Others?

2. What is the purpose of these relations? (Efficiency or economy? Equalization of opportunity? Specialized services? Sociological mix? Other? The interviewer should not supply these answers.)

3. How well are these relations working? Should they be expanded? Reduced? What are the facilitating and blocking forces? What are the problems? What has been accomplished? What are the plans for the future?

4. Specifically, what procedures and mechanisms are used to achieve the present degree of interaction? Leaders? Associations? Meetings? PR? Who is involved? Parents? Students? Faculty? Administrators? Others?

5. Encourage free talk. Possibilities:
   5.1 Is this a regional institution? Should it be?
   5.2 What does this institution do for the region?
   5.3 What are the institution's relations with non-educative agencies in the region?
   5.4 Has "student power" had any impact on relations with the local community?
   5.5 What educational needs are not being adequately met in this region?

METRO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 4 Political Leaders, Community Leaders, Key Laymen

1. How have you been involved in the attempts to metropolitanize* education?

2. How do you assess these developments? What are the strengths? Problems? What is needed in the future?

3. Describe in detail the procedures and mechanisms that are being used to metropolitanize* educational efforts. What individuals and groups are involved? Who provides what sorts of leadership? What means of communications are employed? What meetings are held? What professional expertise is involved?

4. How do you assess these processes? How should they be changed?

5. What groups and individuals are negative to these developments? Positive? Why? What seem to be the facilitating forces and the blocking ones?

6. Encourage free talk--Possibilities:
    - 6.1 What are the major problems for education in this region?
    - 6.2 What groups get the best and worst treatment?
    - 6.3 If the school district received a large sum of unexpected money, what would be your top suggestion for spending it?
    - 6.4 Are you satisfied with the professionals associated with local educational institutions?
    - 6.5 Are lay citizens given the appropriate role in the control and operation of local educational institutions?

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*Cooperation, coordination, specialization and equalization of educational opportunities at all levels on a regional basis.

MET. INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 5 School Leaders Subordinate to C.S.O.

1. What is your assignment in the school district? How is it related to the metropolitanization* of education in this region?

2. How do you assess the metro* developments? What are the strengths? Weaknesses? What is needed for improvement? What are the plans for the future? Specifically, what are the accomplishments of metro* developments?

3. Describe in detail the procedures and mechanisms that are being used to metropolitanize* education in this region? Who is involved? How? Who provides what sorts of leadership? What means of communications are employed? What meetings are held? How is your operation involved in all of this?

4. How do you assess these procedures? Should they be improved? How?

5. What are the facilitating and blocking forces in these developments?

6. Encourage free talk--Possibilities:
    6.1 What are the major problems for education in this region?
    6.2 Is the amount and style of leadership in education adequate?
    6.3 What are your major frustrations in your job?
    6.4 Who really makes the key decisions? How? Are you satisfied with these arrangements?
    6.5 How do you react to the marked "democratization" of educational authority in many parts of the country, i.e., teacher power, student power, community power (local control and decentralization)?

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*Cooperation, coordination, specialization and equalization of educational opportunities at all levels on a regional basis.

METRO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 6 Leaders of Teachers' Organizations

1. Scholars selected by our research team have identified your region as one of the places in which there is the greatest amount of regional cooperation on educational matters. Is this reputation deserved? Why or why not? What is your assessment of metro developments in education? What are the strengths and weaknesses? What is needed for the future? What are the actual plans?

2. What role has the teachers group played in these developments? Supportive? Why? Does the teachers' association work directly with any educative agency other than the school district in this region?

3. Describe in detail the procedures of decision making on educational matters and, particularly, matters having to do with regionalization of education. Who is involved? How? Who provides the leadership? What are the means of communication? Who meets with whom? How are the teachers involved?

4. How do you assess these procedures? Should they be improved? How?

5. Encourage free talk--Possibilities:
    5.1 Are teachers basically satisfied with regional developments?
    5.2 How should educational efforts be improved in this region?
    5.3 How does the teachers organization contribute to the improvement of education in the region?
    5.4 If money were no object, what would be the first action you would recommend to your fellow teachers for improving education in this region?
    5.5 What is your response to the increasing demands of students and the community "to get a piece of the action"?

METRO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 7 Leaders of Regional Agencies, Title III
Centers and Others

1. What is the purpose of your organization?

2. How does it relate to other educative agencies in the region? School districts? Higher education? Private schools? Media? Others?

3. What region does it serve?

4. How successful is it? What are the facilitating and blocking forces?

5. Specifically what procedures and mechanisms exist that promote regionalism? How do you assess these processes? Who is involved? Where does the leadership come from? Who meets with whom? What are the key groups? How is the public kept informed?

6. Encourage free talk--Possibilities:
    6.1 What is needed to improve education in the region?
    6.2 Are you satisfied with the leadership?
    6.3 Are social services in the region adequate?
    6.4 Do serious economic inequities still exist?
    6.5 Is there a lot of overlap and duplication?
    6.6 What educational services ought to be provided on a regional basis that are not now being so provided?
    6.7 What is your response to the increasing demands of teachers, students and the community to increase their power on educational decision-making?

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METRO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 8 State Education Department Personnel

1. What efforts are being made in this State to regionalize public education? Is this a unified thrust? A major objective of the Department? Why? Why not? Is there a printed description of this effort that we may have?

2. To what extent do these efforts involve educative agencies other than public schools? Private schools? Higher education? Media? Museums? Libraries? Others?

3. What is your assessment of these developments? Strengths? Weaknesses? Specific accomplishments to date? Problems? Overlap? Omissions? Are there any formal procedures for the evaluation of these efforts? What? Copies of evaluations? If not, why not?

4. Who are the key individuals and groups in these developments?

5. How about the future of these developments? Facilitating forces? Blocking ones? How are "teacher power," "student power" and "community power" related?

6. What is and what should be the role of the State in this movement? How are the following related now: Education law? Fiscal policy and State aid? R & D policy? Building policy? Transportation policy? Personnel policy?

7. If time permits and if the climate seems favorable, try to get an assessment of the case study in which we are interested (Hartford and Nashville). How well do they know what is happening in the case area? How satisfied are they with these specific developments?

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METRO INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 9 Professional Planner

1. What is the nature and extent of regional planning in this area? How does your office fit into this picture?

2. Who supports your operation?

3. Are you the exclusive planning office in the region? If not, how do you relate to others? Overlap? Omissions?

4. What elements of the environment are included in your planning operation?

5. With whom do you work? How much authority do you have?

6. Specifically, how do you relate to educational authorities? With whom? How? Public schools? Higher education? Private schools? Regional associations? State Education Department?

7. How would you compare this region with others in terms of the attention given to planning?

8. A new school building is to be built. How would you be involved? Are you satisfied with this arrangement? How should it be improved?

9. If there is time, mention specific names of people and organizations involved in education to see whether or not the planner is aware of them.